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The Week

INTERNATIONAL relations in Europe took on a grim aspect this week as the pressure of economic sanctions against Italy began to be applied in earnest. Mussolini aided a heat-conservation campaign by sitting in his office wearing a sweater under his coat, the Prince of Piedmont ordered his lawns to be plowed up and turned into gardens, and sporadic anti-foreign flare-ups occurred; while outwardly the countries coöperating with the League of Nations maintained a high degree of unanimity. The first sign of a break in the present status came from Rome on Saturday when Italy issued a veiled threat of withdrawal from the League if the League Council of Eighteen, which was scheduled to convene in Geneva next week, should move to extend present embargoes to include oil, coal and steel, as advocated in some quarters. France, clinging to such remnants of Italian friendship as still exist, indicated that she would oppose such an extension, and even Great Britain is hesitating, although encouraged by Meanwhile, highly conflicting dispatches from Africa indicated only the one clear fact that actual fighting in Ethiopia has increased considerably within the past few days.

THE expected explosion in China, with the five provinces of Shantung, Hopei, Shansi, Suiyan and Chahar breaking off to form an autonomous North China under Japanese sponsorship, was mysteriously delayed, perhaps because of a disagreement in Japan between the aggressive militarists and others regarding the wisdom of the action at this time, perhaps because of the intense resentment against it in China, which threatened open though probably hopeless war. Hu Shih, the noted Chinese philosopher, and other intellectual leaders denounced the movement and declared that it had no support except by adventurers dependent on Japan. In spite of this opposition, however, a smaller area was declared autonomous by Yin Ju-keng, Administrative Commissioner of the demilitarized zone, and brother-in-law of a Japanese officer of high rank. This area consists of the demilitarized zone, including eighteen counties in eastern Hopei and Chahar provinces, and seven counties projecting southward between Peiping and Tienstin. It contains 4,000,000 inhabitants and an army which is expected to be the spearhead of the autonomy movement. Its capital is Tungchow, only twelve miles from the wall of Peiping. The new area has been christened the Autonomous Federation for Joint Defense Against Communism, though it should be called the Conspiracy for the Advancement of Japanese Imperialism. It is touch and go whether the Japanese will get away with this coup without arousing armed opposition.

HITLER'S two-hour conversation with the French Ambassador this week, followed by cordial professions of friendship in an official communiqué, gave renewed evidence of Germany's orientation toward expansion to the eastward. Russia, presumptive object of such expansion, continued to support League sanctions against Italy, thus helping to strengthen a procedure that some day may be used against Germany. The Baltic States and Denmark, also menaced by putative German expansion, dis-

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France, Premier Laval, harassed in his foreign policies by attempts to form balances of power that refuse to balance and bedeviled internally by strife between the Fascist leagues and the ever increasing Leftist elements in the People's Front, not to mention growing resentment at the deflationary policies of the present government, was reported as ready to resign. Colleagues are urging him to remain in office, because of the virtual impossibility of finding anyone both willing and able to form a Cabinet before the general elections next year. From Oslo came an unconsciously sardonic comment on the present state of world affairs in the brief announcement that the Nobel committee had decided to make no Peace Award for 1935.

PRESIDENT Roosevelt left Washington on Wednesday to spend the Thanksgiving holidays at Warm Springs, Georgia—and, incidentally, to spike a local Talmadge-for-President boom by showing his "other state" what a real Roosevelt rally looks like when he speaks in the Georgia Tech stadium on Friday. He left behind a rising stock market that continues to surge upward at a speed reminiscent of the Coolidge-Mellon era. This market activity already has aroused apprehension in some quarters, although Marriner S. Eccles, Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, last Saturday gave it his official blessing and pointed out that bank loans on stock collateral have not increased—indeed have decreased slightly—which to him indicates that the market rise is healthy and is being financed by actual cash on hand.

CONDITIONS among the public-utility interests were by no means so ebullient. A concerted refusal to comply with the Public Utility Holding Company Act, requiring all holding companies to register with the S.E.C. by December 1, was indicated when two major systems, the United Gas Improvement Company, serving Pennsylvania, and the Consolidated Gas Company, serving the New York City area, filed formal notice through operating-company subsidiaries that the parent systems would not register. James M. Landis, chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, and Attorney General Homer S. Cummings held a conference after which they announced that no criminal prosecution of the balking companies was contemplated, but that the government would press for an early and adequate test case that would bring about a ruling on the constitutionality of the Act.

JOHN L. LEWIS, head of the United Mine Workers of America, threw a bombshell into American labor circles by his sudden resignation from the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, possibly presaging the ultimate formation of a rival federation composed of unions organized along industrial, rather than craft, lines. Senator Borah continued to keep the political pot boiling by

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publican nomination for President and announcing a series of forthcoming radio speeches criticizing the New Deal. The American Clipper plane reached Hawaii in what was an impressive start on the first regularly scheduled flight over the new Pan American Airways trans-Pacific route from San Francisco to Manila. In the field of foreign policy, the United States continued to carry out the implications, if not the letter, of the Neutrality Act by warnings from Secretary Ickes against abnormal shipments of oil to belligerents; by hints from Secretary Hull that an embargo might be placed on cotton (procedure for accomplishing this not indicated); and a message from the Department of Commerce to American shipping lines, most of whom are heavily indebted to the government, warning them against carrying undue shipments to belligerents, particularly oil.

PRESIDENT Roosevelt has written no more useful state paper than his recent letter to Martin H. Carmody, Supreme Knight of the Knights of Columbus, laying down the principle that this country will not interfere in Mexico's religious controversies. This has been the policy of the State Department for the last four or five years, and it should be made permanent. It was unfortunate that President Roosevelt should have tried to bolster up his intrinsically unanswerable case by a quotation from Theodore Roosevelt who—as Franklin Roosevelt must know—was a lifelong interventionist and international meddler. Mr. Carmody was able to show that in the same message from which Franklin Roosevelt carefully chose his quotation, Theodore Roosevelt had protested warmly against the Jewish pogroms in Russia—had done, in short, precisely what the Knights of Columbus now advocate doing in the case of Mexico. Nevertheless, Franklin Roosevelt is wholly justified in his present stand. Any intervention by the United States in Mexico either in behalf of the Roman Catholic Church or against it would accomplish nothing except the stirring up of resentment against this country, and it would carry with it the obvious danger that Americans with investments in Mexico would use the occasion to further their own selfish ends.

WITH maidenly coyness, both former President Hoover and Senator Borah have been hinting that they would be willing to sacrifice their home-keeping instincts and accept the Republican nomination for the presidency. They did not exactly admit that they were in the race, but they fiercely resisted attempts to make them say that they were not candidates. In his speech before the Ohio Society in New York, Mr. Hoover exhibited a capacity for epigram and near-wit that astonished a country accustomed to think of Mr. Hoover and his predecessor, Mr. Coolidge, as the two sourest-faced Presidents in our national history. The chief point in his proposed economy program, the return

ingenuous. Whether relief is administered through the states—as in fact it has been under the F.E.R.A. —or directly by the federal government, is inconsequential. The vital questions concern the rate of unemployment payments and the units that pay the bill. If Mr. Hoover believes that the present rate of payments ought to be reduced, it is his duty to say so frankly, so that the unemployed can know what a Republican administration dominated by Mr. Hoover has in store for them. If he does not, he ought to tell us how states, counties and cities can raise the money. Mr. Borah, in an interview in Washington, was mysterious in the extreme. He has a new farm policy, but he is not telling what it is. He may lead a revolt against the Old Guard Republican leadership, and he may not. He is definitely against the price-fixing provisions of the N.R.A., but since it is problematical if the N.R.A. in its full flower is to be revived, Mr. Borah would seem to be barking down an empty road.

CUBAN justice, a tragically uncertain commodity under the present Batista-Mendieta dictatorship, this week deals with the case of Cesar Vilar, general secretary of the National Cuban Federation of Labor, the largest trade-union organization on the island. Vilar is charged with making an armed attack on a parade of government supporters in June of 1934 and with plotting the deaths of United States Ambassador Caffrey, Colonel Fulgencio Batista and President Carlos Mendieta. Friends of Vilar offer positive evidence that he was hiding in the United States at the time of the alleged attack on the parade, and say that he was far too sincere a trade-unionist to endanger his cause by plotting violence against the heads of the government. They brand the charges as an outright frame-up. Workers in Cuba are fearful that Vilar may be sentenced to death or made the victim of one of the subterfuges of dictatorship, "shot while escaping," "killed by cellmate" or "hanged himself." Representative Vito Marcantonio, Carleton Beals, Norman Thomas and others have written to the State Department at Washington asking why the United States Ambassador permits his name to be used in connection with a charge that may send an innocent man to his death, and protesting against the general pro-Batista policy of Ambassador Caffrey.

IN THE summer of 1911, the Royal Italian Army invaded Tripoli, with no more justification than Mussolini's Blackshirts had for invading Ethiopia in 1935. Many distinguished Italians were opposed to the Tripolitan war. One of them—guess who—made a violent speech before a group of working men:

> No dynamite?
>
> Why do we waste our time in passing resolutions? We must stop war by deeds, not words.
>
> Have we no dynamite to put under the trains in
>
> Women, mothers, this is your duty—lie down on the rails and don't let the trains carry your sons to the imperialist massacre!
>
> Have we not misery and slavery enough in our own country? Have we not enough people who do not know how to read or to write? Have we not people starving at home and in the streets?
>
> How can we civilize other peoples? You know that the capitalist government does not care for your welfare.
>
> Thousands of our working-class lives must be sacrificed to the imperialist ambitions of the exploiting class. That is their patriotism!
>
> What do we workers care for patriotism? Where is our courage?
>
> What is our banner—a flag to be thrown among the rags?

These words were spoken by a Socialist agitator named Benito Juarez Mussolini. They were taken down by his old friend Angelica Balabanov, and were reprinted in a recent issue of The People's Press, of Chicago. We recommend them to the attention of Il Duce, in case he has forgotten what he said in 1911.

TO PROTECT its citizens from Nazi propaganda, the state of New Jersey has a so-called Anti-Nazi law, which was enacted last spring for the sole and specific purpose of prohibiting the expression of pro-Nazi thoughts. However, the first victim to be arrested under this law was not an agent of Hitler but, on the contrary, a member of Jehovah's Witnesses, a religious group whose beliefs are bitterly anti-Nazi and several of whose members are now in German concentration camps because of their refusal to "Heil Hitler." The defendant, Wallack A. Vick, was arrested while distributing three religious tracts published by Jehovah's Witnesses and tending, according to the charge, to stir up emotions of hostility toward people of the Jewish and Catholic faith. To many persons, no doubt, this may appear to be a curious and far-fetched application of a law intended to stamp out Hitler propaganda. But the view of the American Civil Liberties Union is, with considerable justification, in the nature of "I told you so." It opposed the law strenuously last spring as the "most sweeping threat to freedom of speech ever passed in any state" and predicted that it would probably be used against any and all minority groups. This is precisely what happened in the case of Mr. Vick. In much the same way, sedition and anti-radical laws, defended as being anti-Communist, are generally invoked to gag liberals, labor leaders and trade-unionists.

IT IS one of the saddest things about American jazz music that although it has so far been in everybody's ears, it has passed completely by the minds of all but a few. Europe, particularly France, had to start Hot Clubs and print rave notices about Miff, Mezz, Bix, Benny, Fletcher, Louis, Tea-

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swing music as a rank and beautiful native growth. But the thing is gaining slowly here, as the first-rank artists die off or dilute their talent or hurry abroad for an enthusiastic though limited acclaim; and already the subject receives earnest notice, however superficial, in magazines from Variety to Vanity Fair. And now there is announced an organization that will inevitably have something of the air of a Browning club, but that must nevertheless set a mortifying example to other national art activities —The United Hot Clubs of America. It is already a fact that a few amateur enthusiasts can exert some influence on the main control of the field, namely the recording outfits (Victor, Columbia, Decca, etc.), who are willy-nilly responsible for a library of American music running even at this time into thousands of discs. The U.H.C.A. takes the very sane stand of going beyond meetings, resolutions, angry quibbles, to the application of a representative consumer pressure on phonograph releases. Its members are not only buyers, but discriminating enough, on the whole, to put a healthy check on the necessary commercial end; and if they are anywhere near as successful in organizing their demands as they are honestly enthusiastic, they will do one of the best services that has been accorded the arts in this country.

DURING the past ten days, a number of apparently inspired dispatches from London have predicted that negotiations between England and Russia would soon be begun. If these reports are true, it will mark the final step in Russia's admission to the circle of European powers. There is reason to think that England would like to act as mediator between Russia and Nazi Germany, in the same way that she has for years been the mediator between Germany and France. Presumably the first question to be treated would be that of Memel, where a Nazi *Putsch* is possible at any moment. In the past, where England has been able to act as the honest broker between two other nations, she has usually succeeded in collecting a substantial commission for herself, but it is doubtful whether this balance-of-power policy has ever permanently advanced the cause of peace.

HUMAN rights are placed definitely above property rights in a significant piece of legislation recently adopted by the city of Milwaukee. This is an ordinance empowering the mayor or chief of police to close down a strike-bound plant when there is danger of violence because of a refusal of the plant management to meet with its workmen for collective bargaining. The ordinance was a direct outgrowth of a strike at the factory of the A. J. Lindemann and Hoverson Company, a stove-manufacturing concern, where dangerous riots had resulted from the flat refusal of the eighty-year-old head of the plant to deal with the workers. Strong [illegible] strike on his eastern frontier, probably with the [illegible] assistance of Poland and Hungary, and that in or-

League and all newspapers except the Socialist daily. Its adoption was brought about by the efforts of the Socialist mayor, Daniel Hoan, and his party members on the city council who, although in a minority, were able to enlist sufficient "non-partisan" support from other members to ensure passage of the ordinance.

Hitler's Move

ONE OF the first thoughts that sprang into the minds of observers of international affairs when France joined England to bring the League into economic action against Italy was what advantage Germany would get out of the situation. Stresa had brought the three nations together in a defensive union against the dreaded aggressive ambitions of Hitler. There was supposed to be a definite understanding between the French and Italian armies. French and Russian policy also fell into parallel lines, with the Soviet Union joining the League, conciliating the Western Powers and negotiating a treaty of defense with France (signed, but not yet ratified by the French Parliament.) Fear of Hitler had once more forged, apparently, the same old iron ring. But no sooner was it shaped than it began to fall apart. Britain shocked the French statesmen by negotiating a naval treaty with Hitler that would actually allow an increase of the German navy beyond the Versailles limits, and would permit it always to be 35 percent as large as that of the mistress of the seas. Then Mussolini's defiance of the League Covenant forced the French to choose between Italy and England, and they had to desert the one without receiving any firm assurances from the other. Here were crevices into which the wedge of German diplomacy might readily be inserted.

Hitler might have chosen to take immediate advantage of the situation, either by aiding Italy substantially and thus gaining an ally, or by making a second attempt at dominance in Austria while Italy was embarrassed by war in Africa and outlawry by the League. Shrewdly, however, he chose to play for larger stakes. To aid Italy would be to offend the rulers of Britain. Italy would be of doubtful utility after the League got through with her, and she might be gained in the end anyway. To strike in Austria while Italian armies still patrolled the Tyrolean border would invite disaster and might bring France into action against a still unready German army, while Austria might fall easily into Germany's lap later on, after Italy had been weakened or Mussolini had disappeared. Moreover, neither of these objectives occupied first place in Nazi foreign policy, in point of time or of importance.

It has always been clear that Hitler intends to

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placate Britain and possibly France as well. He would like, by exploiting the Bolshevik menace, to obtain their active help against the Soviet Union, but failing that, he would be well satisfied to make sure of their benevolent neutrality while he prepares and executes his advances on the east.

Hitler therefore has been careful not to rush to Italy's economic assistance or to lift a finger in Austria. On the contrary, he is using his nuisance value to try to bargain with France and England. There have been calls by ambassadors, exploratory conversations. Nobody knows exactly what has been going on behind the scenes, but a knowledge of the background permits some pretty shrewd guesses. Aside from his ultimate objectives, Hitler is in need of immediate foreign credit. He needs this in order that Germany may import essential raw materials both to feed her population and to keep rearmament going. Some believe even that his own dictatorship will be endangered this winter unless such credit is forthcoming. Before the Ethiopian crisis, he did his best to raise funds in England, and came very near succeeding. It is reasonable to guess that he failed, not because of implacable hostility to his regime on the part of British bankers and Conservative statesmen but because the latter did not want to consent without driving a harder bargain in terms of international agreements. Also, it would be difficult for the British to play too closely with Hitler unless France were made a party as well.

Now Hitler is trying to negotiate the necessary conditions. There is no doubt that he offers non-aggression treaties assuring France and Britain against attack by him. He may consent to set some limit on the size of the German army, to be substituted for the Versailles limit, which he has already flouted. He no doubt would be willing to associate himself with League sanctions against Italy—a concession that would in fact cost him little, since Germany needs all her own war materials, and values non-participation in sanctions chiefly as a bargaining point. Hitler might even go to the length of rejoining the League if sufficient concessions were made. At least he is probably holding out such a possibility as a bait. Success would clear the way for a loan, which would permit him to continue the arms-manufacturing program without interruption and somewhat alleviate internal distress as well. It would immensely strengthen his position at home and free his energies for progress in penetration of neighboring countries. It would be a long step on the road laid out from the beginning.

What are his chances of success? At the moment the outsider can do no more than speculate. There are, however, certain clearly favorable factors. A section of Tory opinion in England sympathizes with his ambition to strike at the Soviet Union, and has no particular aversion to fascism as such. Those who hold this view regard Hitler as one of the world's chief bulwarks against Bolshevism. A more influential group, however, does not so flatly admit the probable outcome of aiding Hitler [illegible] with ideas such as taming the Nazis by satisfying the legitimate ambitions of Germany in the way of armaments and economic opportunity in world trade. It sincerely wants to avoid participation in another world war, and hopes, by reviving the old balance-of-power policy, to check Russia against Germany, Germany against France, and France against Germany. It wants above all to keep out of definite commitments for military action in order that its power may count the more. The next move in such a game is obviously to conciliate Germany, if that can be done without making France hostile. The strong pacifism of Labor and liberal elements in Britain could scarcely object effectively to an arms-limitation treaty and an expression of non-aggressive designs among the three great nations of western Europe, even though such an entente meant shaking hands with Hitler. These forces would never consent to British partnership with Germany in a war against the Soviets, but they might be led, step by step, to consent to benevolent neutrality.

Against this view may be urged the strong support of the League by the British government in the Italian crisis and the unequivocal statements by Baldwin and Hoare that British foreign policy in the future would be centered about the League. If literally applied, this means that Britain must oppose aggression by Germany on her eastern frontier as well as anywhere else, and must do so by means of economic sanctions at the very least. It also means that even the present British government would not make concessions to Hitler without a binding agreement on his part that would tie his hands. That is the logic of the present British stand, but British Conservatives have been known before this to escape from the logic of their declarations. Also it may be doubted whether Hitler has great respect for the sanctity of international promises.

Hitler's greatest difficulty will be to conciliate France. The united front of Communists, Socialists and Radical Socialists is hostile to him, and strong. On the right as well, the French nationalists have always feared a powerful Germany, and Hitler has not allayed their fears. They know well that he wants to tackle his enemies one at a time, and that once he had succeeded in the east he would turn to the west. The French Fascists would like to be conciliatory with Hitler, as would certain industrial interests that have supplied them with funds —indeed, interests that are reported to have contributed to the Nazi movement itself before it acquired power. Anti-Bolshevism is strong in the inner circles of French capitalism. There is considerable quiet resistance to the new treaty with the Soviet Union. Nevertheless it does not seem likely that France will encourage Hitler to strike in the east of Europe, unless by some unlikely turn of events the French Fascists seize power. For the French will see, and correctly, that under the terms of any agreement that may now be reached, however fair they seem, will lurk Hitler's long cherished

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Bigger, Brighter Battleships

WITH TRAGIC unanimity, observers agree that the naval conference opening next week in London is doomed to failure. British politicians are so certain that no personal glory can be extracted from it that they plan no plenary sessions, no speeches, no press conferences. Solely because he has appointed Assistant Secretary of State Phillips and Norman H. Davis to the United States delegation, a few optimists profess to believe that Mr. Roosevelt does not share the general discouragement about the conference, and may have some sudden, bold offer to make. But this hope is confessedly slim.

The existing naval treaty has been denounced by Japan and other Powers. The conference is being held to explore the possibility of an agreement with which to replace it when it expires. Japan has demanded abolition of the five-five-three ratio and an equality with the United States and Great Britain. Both these nations have expressed their opposition to Japan's demand. Britain has complicated the problem by making an independent agreement with Germany by virtue of which Germany may build up to 35 percent of Britain's strength, whatever that may be. This makes it harder to satisfy France with existing ratios, and Italy in turn will demand more naval power. Meanwhile Japan has continued to act as if she were not bound by the Nine Power Treaty, the Kellogg Pact or the League of Nations Covenant, and is engaging in one of her periodic forward movements in China. This, as well as Mussolini's war against Ethiopia, will surround the conference with gloom and suspicion.

If England had wished, undoubtedly she could have arranged to have the conference postponed. It is being held at this particular moment chiefly because of British politics. The Tories wish to increase the British navy, and they want first to prove to their taxpayers that naval disarmament is hopeless. During the recent electoral campaign, Labor candidates alleged that the Tories had promised a great naval construction program to British shipbuilders in return for party contributions. It was also charged that British industry, as a whole, looked to lavish government expenditures on armaments to prevent a collapse of the present English trade boom.

As concerns foreign policy, the Tories hope that the conference will serve to recreate the old enmity between France and Italy in the Mediterranean. Mussolini is expected to renew his demand for naval parity with France, and the Tories count on this to swing French opinion against him, and against his campaign in Africa. It is quite possible that this maneuver will succeed. Unless his armies win spectacular triumphs in Ethiopia, Mussolini may be forced to make secret overtures for peace during the conference.

Africa, and the intrigues of the various governments, however, are no more dangerous for the conference than the evident and complete paralysis of world opinion. Before the earlier Washington and London conferences, popular enthusiasm was worked up to a white heat. Hughes, Balfour and their colleagues in 1921, and Stimson, MacDonald and the other delegates in 1930, knew that if they succeeded in obtaining an agreement they would gain great applause. They knew also that if they failed they would be subject to bitter reproach. No such bedrock of world opinion exists today. So far as can be judged, the present conference is being awaited without expectation or even interest.

As a substitute for a new treaty, it has been reported that the British will offer a proposal by which each nation would declare, unilaterally, its building program for the next five years and possibly longer. By this device, the Japanese would be able in fact to agree to a smaller program than that of the United States and England, and Italy to a smaller program than that of France, without abandoning their formal claims to parity. This scheme assumes, however, that the Japanese and Mussolini are merely bluffing, which, in the present state of world affairs, seems extremely dubious. There is little or no chance that this substitute proposal will win acceptance. Even if it does, it means increase in navies. Limited though they were in scope, the naval treaties were perhaps the most hopeful international achievement of the post-World War period. What we now have to face is the imminent prospect that they will be wholly swept away, and the world delivered over to unlimited naval competition.

With reason, observers argue that while the question of the European balance of power remains undecided, no permanent solution of Europe's naval problems can be expected. In comparison, the Far Eastern naval problem, in which alone America is interested, is ripe for a decision. Perhaps the one thing that can now be hoped for is that the Roosevelt administration, either because of popular pressure or without it, will act to settle it before the present conference ends.

In 1921, the threat of force perhaps had a part in deciding the five-five-three ratio, but force was not the reason Japan signed the treaties. Japan had then just undergone a mild political and social revolution. Under the great liberal, Takashi Hara, who was assassinated shortly before the Washington conference opened, the middle-class and business elements had decisively triumphed over the military clans. Like their English counterparts a century and a half earlier, these middle-class and business groups believed in international trade and peace. They were intensely eager for the day when Japan would become an accepted member of the family of nations. On the whole, they were delighted with the Washington agreements.

Despite earthquakes and conflagrations, after the World War Japan's industrial development was

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workers unmercifully, and partly because they had the latest, most efficient machinery, they were able to undersell the world, especially in textiles. Slowly the great Western Powers began raising tariffs pointedly devised to keep out Japanese products. Little by little, the English began shutting the doors of their empire, until in the Ottawa agreements they were closed and locked. The United States, upon which Japan was dependent for its most important raw material, cotton, began to discuss valorization schemes, which were finally put into effect by the Hoover Farm Board. Japan's militarists had long advocated conquest in Asia rather than coöperation with other Powers. When, with the invasion of Manchuria in 1931, the militarists openly challenged the liberals, dominant Japanese opinion backed up the militarists. The heart of the Far Eastern problem lies in the change that has come about in the Japanese temper.

There is a school of pacifist opinion that shrinks from pointing out the imperialist tendencies of the Japanese ruling group. We think this attitude mistaken. It is not only dishonest, but foolish, to argue that we should not engage in naval competition with the Japanese because they are a sweet, peace-loving people. When Japan soon afterwards threatens to invade China, the ordinary citizen is apt to conclude that he has been misled, and that we ought to build more warships. It is safer to urge that we ought to make peace with the Japanese because they are aggressive, and there is no way to stop them by threat of force unless we wish to fight.

The five-five-three ratio meant, according to the rules of the naval strategists, that while each nation could defend itself against an attack in its own waters by any other one, Japan could not undertake aggressive action in Asia against the united fleets of Great Britain and the United States. A preponderance of more than two to one would be necessary to conduct a successful naval war against any nation at such a distance, and the ratio of the two navies against Japan would be ten-three. Later the Japanese militarists got their way at home and began to act at a time when, on account of the depression and other matters, Great Britain and the United States were not willing to back up their Asiatic commitments by the threat of force. It was only logical that Japan should accompany this action by a demand for naval parity. There is no reason for denying that demand unless we want to maintain the old threat—unless we want to pretend that eventually we may join Britain to fight for the integrity of China and the open door—that is, for the right to invest and trade in China without Japanese intervention.

There are some Americans who think that we should not withdraw from the Far East because of China. They chivalrously feel that we ought not abandon the Chinese nationalist movement to the vengeance of Japan. Others feel that we should not do anything that would weaken the [illegible]

sincerely held, but it is hard to see why American imperialism, any more than Japanese imperialism, will operate to the ultimate advantage of either China or Russia.

Granting naval parity to Japan would not endanger the security of the United States, for there is not the slightest possibility of a Japanese attack on our shores, or of success in such an attack if it were attempted. It would merely be a signal that we had dropped the half-quixotic, half-imperialist design to restrain Japan by force from carrying out her intentions in Asia. This does not mean that we need give diplomatic approval to these designs; we can simply let Japan seek her own "manifest destiny" without threat of intervention. It is probable that she will find ruin on that course in any case.

The other alternative is to maintain our traditional policy in China, and resist any infringement upon it by Japan. From a strictly naval point of view, it is true that we are now greatly inferior to Japan in the western Pacific. To put ourselves in a position to defend our supposed interests in China will mean much more than building battleships. No imaginable fleet could successfully fight Japan from bases on the California coast and in Hawaii. If we are determined to challenge Japan, we must ourselves repudiate the present naval treaties, which forbid American fortifications west of Hawaii, and transform Guam and Manila into modern Heligolands. We must seek an alliance with England. We must make agreement with the various Chinese factions for the use of their ports. We must be resigned to see a large part of our energies, for years to come, flow into the Far East. We must be content to have future elections turn upon questions of foreign policy instead of domestic welfare.

The great danger is that the country will never have a conscious choice between these alternatives. The one thing above all else to be prevented is that the present conference in London should break up in futile recriminations, after which naval building in Japan is followed by building here and we are insensibly dragged along a course that in the end means war.

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Who But Hoover?

HERBERT HOOVER, who, as you may recall, was billed for one of the greatest acts in the history of the White House, would be less than human if he did not ache to make excuses for himself on as many features of his historic failure as possible.

In national political circles it is generally accepted that he is now a candidate for reëlection and, of course, vindication. Mr. Hoover's first nomination, as is well known, was a triumph of publicity. The same high-powered mechanisms are now at work to give him the leadership of the Republican Party in 1936. And as a prelude to that he is busy picking up the parts of the shattered Hoover—the great engineer—of 1928 and reassembling them. In the last few months he has staged three major public appearances with this objective. He has made two speeches. But most important, one of his former secretaries, Mr. Walter H. Newton, has presented through The Saturday Evening Post what purports to be an inside account of that grotesque finale—the banking collapse of 1933—with which the curtain was rung down on Mr. Hoover's gloomy four years. The former President must somehow dodge the deep damnation of that vast banking crisis. An administration which had begun with the implied boast that it was about to end poverty in America ended with every bank in America closed or tottering to its fall. Such a dénouement must be explained. It will not do to have this ghost rising to haunt the candidate as he trudges the road to rehabilitation.

I have examined the pretentious historical account of the banking failure written by Mr. Newton, who, of course, is merely the stalking horse for Mr. Hoover. It is so full of almost incredible distortions of fact, so many twistings of very recent and very well known history intertwined with unsupported assumptions and rationalizations, that it ought to be taken apart in detail. This I propose to do here.

It will be remembered that Mr. Roosevelt, on the day after his inauguration, was forced to proclaim a national banking holiday as a means of closing all the banks in the nation to protect them from further runs. This was the climax of twelve years of administration under Messrs. Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. It would be unfair to Mr. Hoover to assess against him the whole responsibility for this ghastly crisis. He had inherited the banking system. If he is to be more heavily charged with guilt than his predecessors it is because during three years of depression and in the face of the accumulating pressure of bank failures, he did nothing to check the inevitable débâcle.

in the world was responsible for the depression and the bank climax but Mr. Hoover. The real villains in the piece, apparently, were the inflationists; the Austrian Creditanstalt, which failed; the Germans, who ruined their country; the English, who went off the gold standard; the Democrats, of course; those who forced publicity of the R.F.C. loans; and, above all, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who refused to do what Hoover felt was necessary to stay the storm when it broke in its final fury just before the inauguration.

In this singular diagnosis you will not find the remotest suggestion that Mr. Hoover in any way shared in the responsibility for this disaster. He admits no mistakes. His policy was brilliant, masterful, flawless. It recalls those campaign speeches he made in 1932, when he went about the country describing the era as a titanic struggle between himself and the Depression, with the Depression losing all along the line.

Briefly the Hoover thesis may be set down in a few sentences.

1. The depression here was the fault of a world depression.

2. Mr. Hoover had it whipped in the summer of 1931, when the Austrian Creditanstalt bank failed, causing a repercussive panic in Germany, spreading to England, which was forced off the gold standard, thus shaking the world, including the banking system of America.

3. Hoover went to work again on the depression and once again had it in flight in the summer of 1932. By this time recovery had begun throughout the world. It continued throughout the world, but was halted in America.

4. It was halted here by (a) agitation for money tinkering and inflation, led by Roosevelt's inflationist supporters—Rogers, Warren, Wallace, Wheeler, Thomas; (b) Roosevelt's refusal to disavow his inflationist advisers; (c) his refusal to adopt a program that Hoover had kindly worked out for him; (d) the publication of the R.F.C. loans.

All this started and quickened the flow of gold from the banks, which ultimately wrecked them. It was not a banking crisis at all. It was a flight of gold from threatened government raids. And in the last desperate moments Roosevelt refused to coöperate with Hoover to avert the collapse.

Perhaps it is impossible to end an argument like this. It will rage endlessly between partisans. Facts mean nothing. They mean less than nothing to the desperate and humiliated politician torturing history to set himself straight with an unbelieving world. But there are a few things in the record that are not susceptible of dispute. Of course no fair man will blame Mr. Hoover for trying to rescue his once

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nations; something that might well excite our sympathy were it not for his arrogant disclaimer of all responsibility and his ungracious flinging about of blame upon the wide world, far-away Europe, his political foes and even his old associates. Let us stretch the skin of Mr. Hoover's strange defense against the background of authenticated history.

Let us begin with the proposition that the depression had run its course in this country in 1931 and that then recovery was arrested by England's abandonment of the gold standard. This was a world-shaking event. Its wide-circling waves struck our shores and, as Mr. Ogden Mills has frequently put it, banks in Iowa and Kansas and our West closed their doors because England, three thousand miles away, went off the gold standard. This preposterous argument is quickly disposed of.

1. Why did not England's world-shaking abandonment of the gold standard hit and close some of her own banks nearer home; some of Canada's banks? Why was the fury of that blow effective only against our curious banking system?

2. We did indeed have a slight, ever so slight, lift in business in the spring of 1931. It was just a momentary pause in the swift descent of the business curve. It began about January and ended about March. Then the downward curve of the depression took a precipitate and terrifying nose dive, which continued to the end of the year. The Austrian bank did not close until early summer, months after our brief and feeble flutter of recovery ended. And England did not go off the gold standard until September.

The next proposition is that by the summer of 1932, just about the time the conventions were meeting, Mr. Hoover once again got the depression on its back. World revival began. Revival throughout the world continued. But it was halted here in January after the election.

What halted it we shall examine in a moment. But Mr. Hoover's theory is that, had he been continued in power, this rise would never have been halted. Indeed, he says the "depression was over" in the summer of 1932. Of course what would have happened in any period of history if events had moved differently may be a subject of incessant and fruitless argument. What would have been the course of history if Caesar had never been assassinated, if Woodrow Wilson had been defeated by Hughes, and so on? In this case we have some guide posts. The depression is outlined on a chart by the descending business curve. But if you look at it you will see that this line did not move down equally and without interruption. It was checked at many points by brief pauses and even spurts upward—in December, 1929; March, 1930; January, 1931, etc. Each time the sinking curve paused or fluttered upward a bit, Mr. Hoover promptly proclaimed to the nation that the depression was over and that recovery was here. Of then instead of dealing with it to correct its shame-

of events. The last upward flutter before he disappeared from the scene was in August, 1932. Trade moved feebly up until November, paused until the Christmas trade, made the usual ascent, but quite lamely, and then dropped again, as it always does, when the Christmas trade ended. This, Hoover insists, was the end of the depression. That this was only one more weak pause like all the others as the economic situation moved to the inevitable collapse does not seem to occur to him.

Now we are ready to scrutinize Mr. Hoover's argument delivered through Secretary Newton to prove that it was Roosevelt and his minions who halted the rise.

To do this we have to examine several preliminary propositions. First of all we are informed that "for three years in various messages, conferences and interviews the President unceasingly had been urging reform in our whole banking system." This had been delayed by the difficulty of the task, by opposition of the banks and the Democratic House of Representatives. Then follows one of the most bare-faced bits of fabricated implication I have ever read. "Senator Glass, as the author of the bill finally worked out for this purpose, had given conscientious and patient service to it. President Hoover resolved to drive it through the last session of Congress." Then follows an enumeration of the various provisions of the Glass bill.

I submit that any reader would conclude from this that Hoover had been carrying on a vigorous campaign for banking reform and that Glass had been chosen to prepare and introduce the bill embodying these reforms. I followed that legislation carefully from beginning to end. And this is the first I ever heard of Hoover's lifting a finger for it. Professor H. Parker Willis, of Columbia, acted as technical adviser to the Banking Committee in preparing that bill. He knows its history as well as any man. He has embodied it in a book—"The Banking Situation," published in 1934 by Columbia University. Professor Willis says what everyone at the time knew to be true, that not only did Hoover do nothing to support the Glass bill but actually "retarded it and prevented its passage," to use Professor Willis' words. Hoover several times said he was for statewide branch banking. But branch banking was no remedy for the evils of our rotten banking system, in which branch banks were actually accounting for the worst failures. In the closing moments of the administration, as the storm gathered over his unhappy head, and after four years of complete inaction about the banks, he did support the passage of another Glass bill, but that was an entirely different measure with certain emergency instrumentalities in it.

Hoover's chief contribution to banking was the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. In January, 1932, bank failures became so general that the whole system was threatened with collapse. He

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money secretly to all sorts of bankrupt banks. It loaned money not only to banks, but to bankrupt railroads, bankrupt mortgage, fire-insurance and casualty companies.

By June, 1932, Hoover claims he had completely checked this crisis and that thereafter the depression was definitely ended and recovery began. By January, he insists, the banks were stronger than at any time in 1932. And his inspired apologist makes this extraordinary claim—that there were no serious hoardings or runs on banks between July and December, 1932. Gold had flowed into the country, deposits increased, credit was resumed and a sounder situation was built up.

All these facts are susceptible of confirmation. Let us examine them.

No serious runs on banks between July and December, 1932. This is about as cold-blooded a falsification of still fresh statistical history as I have ever encountered. It was in this period that the first banking holiday was declared in Nevada. It was in this time that the run started on the Union Trust Company of Baltimore. I have made up a tabulation of the number of bank failures by weeks from June to December. Here it is:

Week Ending	*No. Failed*	*Deposits*
June 11	23	$56,475,000
" 18	29	45,066,000
" 25	50	50,185,000
July 2	52	24,773,000
" 9	32	17,065,000
" 16	33	18,805,000
" 23	30	9,847,000
" 30	21	4,165,000
August 6	20	6,738,000
" 13	18	7,075,000
" 20	19	2,585,000
" 27	12	1,700,000
September 3	22	8,700,000
" 10	10	1,590,000
" 17	17	2,540,000
" 24	20	3,775,000
October 1	16	4,695,000
" 8	18	4,335,000
" 15	19	3,380,000
" 22	23	5,212,000
" 29	22	3,505,000
November 5	23	3,800,000
" 12	18	4,725,000
" 19	25	24,485,000
" 26	23	12,610,000
December 3	24	4,080,000
" 10	38	19,410,000
" 17	28	12,146,000
" 24	23	9,430,000
" 31	51	34,576,000

The total number of failures for the entire year 1932 was 1,456, involving deposits of $715,626,000. The failures from July on were 657. There were, therefore, almost as many failures after Rogers, as Hoover charges. On the contrary, in the amount of money involved. Moreover, the banks that were closing now were those that had been strong enough to weather three full years of depression which had closed thousands of others. But, in addition to the closings, the R.F.C. was pouring out millions into other banks—many of them as shaky as those that closed—which were kept open with R.F.C. loans.

Bank deposits increased. This statement is made as if it were a phenomenon that flowed naturally from increased business. Between February, 1932, and December, 1932, government securities issued to the Reserve banks rose from $743,000,000 to $1,854,000,000. This was enough all by itself to account for an increase in deposits of nearly a billion dollars. The loan of funds by the R.F.C. alone would have been sufficient to increase deposits by several hundred millions more. The fact that with these powerful floods of funds into the banks, deposits decreased about $320,000,000 from June to December, indicates the desperate condition of the banks, the fall in normal deposits and the extent to which the heavy resorts to government borrowing and R.F.C. lending, plus Federal Reserve operations, failed to plug the gap.

Credit was resumed. Credit not only was not resumed in the period between June and December, it declined by $1,771,000,000, as shown in the record of bank loans in the Federal Reserve Bulletin, for July, 1933. Mr. Hoover's whole assumption that recovery had set in is utterly refuted by the facts. His conclusion that it was Roosevelt and his own foes who halted that recovery necessarily falls to the ground along with it.

Now for the last chapters. We are asked to believe that final difficulties were started by the inflationists. There was no bank crisis at all, is the theory, amazing as it may seem. People did not take their money out of the banks because the banks were unsound. They took it out because they were frightened by the inflationists and feared their money would decline in value through inflation.

The most casual examination of this statement will reveal its folly. But first let us see how the tragedy moved to its climax. It began around December 17, with fears of inflation. But as you examine the record as made up by Mr. Hoover's Mr. Newton, you realize that these fears were largely whipped up by Mr. Hoover himself and his friends. "Hoover and the Republican leaders repeatedly *charged the incoming administration with intent to tinker with the currency.*"

As you go through the newspapers of the period you see less talk of the inflationists than there had been earlier. But you run into continual statements by bankers and Republican politicians that inflation is imminent. Senator Thomas made some statements, but I can find nothing from Warren or Roosevelt himself had made the most conservative

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peatedly assured us that he was for sound money. He had offered the Treasury portfolio to Senator Glass, the most stalwart champion of "sound" money, and when Glass declined Roosevelt tendered the job to Mr. Woodin, who was also a sound-money man.

What was in process from December to March is perfectly plain—deflation. Deflation on the most extravagant and feverish scale. The whole business situation was falling apart. Hoover's contention that all that had happened was the result of this inflationary talk and that the scandals among the banks, the forced liquidation by the banks, the complete bewilderment of business men everywhere, the bankruptcy of large business concerns, the demoralization of the wage scale—all these things are to be ignored, is too fantastic to be accepted by any reasonable mind. The "enormous" withdrawals of gold amounting to only about $271,000,000 in January and February give evidence of the fact that people were thinking of getting their money out of unsafe banks and not trying to convert their holdings into gold.

However, the situation became so bad by February 17 that Mr. Hoover wrote a letter to Mr. Roosevelt. This letter is made the high point—the meaty revelation—of the whole argument.

That letter is one of the most amazing documents in the history of presidential correspondence. Banks were closing everywhere. Several states had already declared bank holidays. The Detroit scandals had broken. The National City Bank scandals had been aired and Charles Mitchell had resigned from the bank. The Insull crash, the Kreuger crash, innumerable failures of vast promotional enterprises had shocked the country. Men were being discharged by hundreds of thousands. The sweat-shop was devouring the trade of more decent competitors. At this point Mr. Hoover had a plan to deal with the crisis. Only Mr. Roosevelt could carry it out. He himself had been ousted by a vote of humiliating proportions. Yet he wrote to the President-elect, who was to take his seat in about two weeks, a letter of which, I am convinced, no other man in public life in America could have been guilty.

In the midst of this chaos, he began by asserting that the major difficulty was the state of the public mind. Then he declared that this could be met by a statement from the new President—a reassuring statement. In the four major crises since 1929 Hoover had met every situation in that fashion and with eminent success. He then launched into a long, boastful account of the manner in which he had attacked the depression and how he now had the nation on the road to recovery. All that was needed was a statement, which would produce "a resumption of the march of recovery." As you read this letter you get the notion that you are reading an account of some past depression and how it was true. Here is a point of veracity that ought to be

depression. Then he tells the President-elect that he should issue a statement giving assurance (1) that there will be no tampering with the currency; (2) that the budget will be balanced; (3) that government credit will not be exhausted by issuing further obligations to the banks. Also publication of R.F.C. loans should be stopped.

It is a singular mental phenomenon that after four years this stubborn man could believe that the people of the United States at that time cared about whether the government continued selling its obligations to the banks. It has since sold them some ten billions more and few are disturbed about it. The notion that a frightened citizen, on the way to a bank to withdraw his life's savings, would be stayed by an assurance that government borrowing would stop, that the currency would not be tinkered with and that the budget would be balanced, belongs in the domain of comedy. The budget has since been unbalanced more severely than ever, yet there is no banking panic.

Moreover, you would get the notion that Hoover himself had balanced his budgets and that the people were afraid Roosevelt would not. Hoover made up four budgets. All of them were unbalanced save one. Roosevelt had denounced him for that.

Roosevelt did not answer that letter until March 1, giving some lame excuse. He probably did not know how to answer it. When he did he said very properly that the fire had spread too far to be dealt with by mere statements.

But on February 28, Hoover wrote Roosevelt again. This time he asked that Roosevelt call an extra session. Also he said he still believed that the tide might by stemmed by issuing the statement he had originally urged. At that moment the crisis was in full career. Hoover was debating whether he would close the banks, guarantee their deposits or let things drift. But the banks were closing all around him.

Tennessee and Kentucky had proclaimed holidays. Michigan, Nevada, Mississippi, Ohio, West Virginia, Maryland, Arkansas, Alabama, Oklahoma, Minnesota, Louisiana and other states had either declared holidays or authorized banks to restrict payments to depositors. The end had come. Yet Hoover still thought a statement to the people that the budget would be balanced and that the government would stop borrowing and that the currency would not be touched, would end the crisis. Roosevelt, of course, wisely declined the proffered salvation and took his own course.

There is one final point. Hoover now insists that he did not want to close the banks, but wanted to keep them open until his successor took office. On the other hand, it is said by some that he called Roosevelt on the telephone and urged Roosevelt to join him in a proclamation closing the banks. Hoover denies this. Roosevelt's friends assert it is

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Bleeding Kansas and Points West

IN THE West one does not hear so many glad hosannas about the end of the depression as are audible in New York; or at any rate, this traveler did not. There is a natural moneyshed that drains surplus funds from all over the country into the Big Town, where, moreover, we have an arrangement for hiding poverty on our side streets while the press trumpets the fourth Roosevelt-Wall-Street boom as though all that stuff were real money. Beyond the Mississippi, sleight-of-hand is more difficult, or perhaps is considered less important. There you find state relief administrators who openly admit they are scared sick about finding funds for the so-called unemployables as well as for a lot of employables scattered in isolated communities where the W.P.A. does not go. The cheap, long-distance buses are jammed; the through trains are half-empty (though certainly better filled than they were three years ago). In the big hotels nobody eats anywhere except at the low-priced coffee shop, and plenty of customers give a nickel tip or none—either of which actions would have incited to mayhem seven years ago. Panhandlers are more numerous on the streets of a dozen big Western cities than I have ever known them.

Our Alf.—Kansas is greatly excited about the possibility that Governor Landon may be the Republican nominee and perhaps President next year. If he were nominated, he would get not only the normal Republican votes of a state that is normally Republican, but a lot of other votes on the score of local patriotism. Kansans who ought to know tell me that it is a great mistake to think of him as just a Kansas Coolidge; he is on the contrary much more of a Kansas Harding without quite the sinister implications of the Ohio Gang. He is a genial, hearty, small-town man who has made a lot of money in the oil business, but is still able to weed his own garden without seeming ostentatious.

Seven people in succession told me the story about his looking out the window of the gubernatorial mansion one day and seeing some of the neighborhood children playing in the pool on the lawn. (Previous Governors, it is explained, had driven the children away.) The youngsters were sailing a boat, and it had drifted out into the middle of the pool, beyond their reach. Presto, the Governor with his boots and socks off, rescuing the boat. Only one of the seven narrators mentioned the fact that the pool is only a couple of inches deep. That story is practically the key to the White House, all by itself.

Another report that I heard at least seven times at which Norman Thomas, perpetual Socialist candidate for President, was to speak, and introduced him with the often-quoted sentiment attributed (incorrectly) to Voltaire: "I disagree with everything you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it." I leave to my reader comment on the state of the Union when such action on the part of a Governor calls forth universal and well merited applause because of its exceptional courage.

On the other hand, Kansans assured me that their state as a whole has in fact an exceptional tradition of maintenance of free speech which goes back to 1856, John Brown and the underground railroad. Evidence of this came not so long ago when a member of the State Board of Regents, which controls Kansas University and other institutions, made a speech to the K.U. student body in which he said that no radicalism is to be "taught" at the university, and invited the students to act as informers, notifying the authorities when anything of the sort took place. The gentleman made no distinction between a faculty member who tells students the historical facts about revolution and one who might, conceivably, plead with his classes to become radicals; indeed, it is doubtful whether this regent is yet conscious that any such distinction exists. I am told he was publicly spanked from one end of the state to the other by officials and the press, and that was that. Nevertheless, I should not count too heavily on the memory of old John Brown to keep Kansas a free state when the reaction begins to crack down.

That Famous Balanced Budget.—Students of Kansas affairs assure me that the more closely you inspect Governor Landon's record in office, the worse it looks. His affiliations with machine politicians are none too savory; and some of his appointments to state positions have been indefensible—putting half-literate politicos in charge of state institutions where expert knowledge and professional training are urgently needed. Sharpest of all is the criticism of his balanced budget. Partly by refusing to permit changes in existing law, partly by driving through a new measure, he has put upon the counties and municipalities a burden they should not have been asked to meet. They in turn have "taken it out of the hides" of school teachers and minor officials, who are least able to defend themselves. Some schools are closed; many teachers are getting unbelievably low salaries—much of the time they don't even get them. Road maintenance has been cut, for the same reason, and many main roads are reverting to washboard—as I can testify after

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lief problem has not been a particularly serious one; the state's industrial population is negligible and most of the farm relief has come through the A.A.A. (This is not true, however, of the dry-farming area in the western part of the state, where mounds of dust may still be seen banked around the fence posts, reminders of the drought, and where whole counties have given up the fight, almost to the last man.)

Radio, Radio, Wherefore?—The West, I am impelled to report, has gone mad over football and radio. It gets its football by means of radio, thus combining the worst features of each. On the afternoon or evening of any important game (many of them are now played at night under huge and glaring arcs) everything else is suspended, and elevator boys in the best hotels freely slap the patrons on the back at the news of a touchdown. In twenty such hotels I have found that there is invariably a receiving set in the lobby; that it plays at the top of its voice all day and all night; that it is tuned to some local station and kept there regardless of the respective merits of various possible programs; and that if by any miracle it is turned off momentarily, some guest turns it on again.

They have a habit in the West of broadcasting court trials—minor offenders, mostly the morning's grist after the night's police reaping. I shall not soon forget one such affair that I heard, the trial of an habitual drunkard. Everyone except the defendant was obviously playing to the microphone. There was none of this nonsense to the effect that a man who is drunk all the time is perhaps a psychopath in need of medical care. The judge, the bailiff, the defendant's father-in-law, present as a witness, took turns in bouncing righteously at the unhappy wretch for the edification and amusement of a million firesides. "You admit you were drunk?" "I guess so, judge" (low and unutterably weary). "What? Speak up! Come over here." (To the microphone, obviously.) "Yes, sir, judge, your honor." "You know I can send you to the county farm for three years?" "Yes, sir." "Speak up, there! Louder! Now if I don't do it, will you sign the pledge?" "Yes, sir, yes I will, judge." When this sort of thing can be broadcast, all complete with name and address, it occurs to me that another bright trick would be to show us all, by television, any average citizen picked at random, taking a bath or going to bed with his wife.

One other radio broadcast I shall long remember. We were driving through the Colorado mountains, at an elevation of well over 5,000 feet, and listening on the car radio to a state legislative inquiry in Denver. Colorado not having shown sense enough to make the sale of liquor a state monopoly, as a number of other commonwealths have done, a sordid mess had been uncovered in which representatives of the state tax commission had sought bribes from liquor dealers as a substi-

twisted upward through the passes between snow-topped peaks of incredible cold grandeur, the dashboard of the Ford V-8 spoke to us in the tones, the labored, catarrhal tones, of the witness on the stand. His misuse of English grammar was something wonderful to contemplate; but far worse was the picture he painted for us, as sunset turned the distant snowfields to coral and then to deep blue, of cheap and greasy good fellows getting in on easy pickings, taking their cut, getting money by simple dishonesty in a civilization where money is god. It was not a pretty story; and as twilight darkened and the mountains became black hulks against the stars, I distinctly saw one cloud-wreathed old giant, who had stood there some millions of years remembering the Indians and earlier things, turn his head a little with the faintest possible sneer.

BRUCE BLIVEN.

Grand Junction, Colorado.

This is the first of a series of articles reporting conditions observed during a transcontinental tour. —THE EDITORS.

Of What Superb Mechanics

Of what superb mechanics are
The wheels of change, the cycle driven:
And what equation for a star

Set us in motion? You and I
Look through our ego-microscope,
Behold us as we multiply

(Accident in a drop of dew
Our world) like racing giants, winged,
Armored, important. Star's-eye view

We lack, nor have we solar sight
To glimpse this season wholly, read
Beyond our brief, immediate night

And watch the measured fall and rise
Of mass replacing mass, the sure
Drive of the piston. Change relies

On conquerors conquered, leaders led:
After the sultry wars of nations
New life feeding on the dead.

Outside the safety margin, Fear:
We turn to old habitual things—
The sidewalk crack, the doorstep, hear

The autumn cricket, touch the lock
(The metal cool as evening) turn
The folded blanket, set the clock:

But on that Order stars repeat
We dare not look; we dare not dream
Of that strict beauty planned, complete.

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Regulation by Taxation

THE United States Supreme Court is being asked, in the processing-tax case, to uphold what is said to be a basic principle of American constitutional law, that the taxing power cannot be used except for the primary purpose of raising a revenue. If the processing taxes are invalidated on the ground that their purpose is to regulate agricultural production, the same principle will invalidate the Guffey Coal Act, which depends for enforcement on a tonnage tax levied upon coal at the mine and then rebated to operators who accept the provisions of the act. The primary purpose of both of these acts is to regulate the commodities affected, not to raise a revenue.

Irrespective of the wisdom of congressional policy, it is plain that if these acts are nullified by the Supreme Court, the taxing power will be a far narrower instrument in the hands of Congress than it was when it was employed, in the middle of the last century, to wipe out state bank currency by a prohibitive tax upon it, or a few decades later to discourage by punitive taxation the use of oleomargarine.

Both of these punitive taxes were upheld by the Supreme Court at a time when it was swayed by the memory of John Marshall's broad nationalism. The court followed Marshall's simple and sweeping dictum that "Questions of power do not depend upon the degree to which it is exercised. If it exists at all, it may be exercised to the utmost extent." The first departure from Marshall's rule, as applied to the taxing power, was in the second child-labor case, in 1922, when the Court held by a vote of 7 to 2 that Congress had no power to tax the products of child labor for the purpose, not of raising a revenue, but of driving them out of commerce.

Today American business, through its legal representatives, is trying to have the reasoning of the second child-labor decision extended into a general denial of the right of Congress to lay taxes for regulatory purposes. But instead of stating that this is a principle of constitutional law dating from 1922, corporation lawyers and business propagandists describe it as a principle dating from the beginning of this country. Earlier contrary decisions are either ignored or treated as temporary aberrations from the guiding views of the Founding Fathers.

The attitude of American business can be disclosed by quoting two of its leading propagandists. Sterling E. Edmunds, St. Louis lawyer, under whose leadership the Sentinels of America shifted from prohibition repeal to anti-New Deal propaganda, described the desired limitation of the taxing power [illegible] article in The National Business for

> From its earliest decisions, the Supreme Court had held that the taxing power must be used only for the purpose of raising revenue; that Congress cannot use it to accomplish other purposes, such as the regulation of hours, wages or working conditions in the states.

This is actually a description of what reactionary business hopes for from the Supreme Court through an extension of the child-labor-case reasoning. Note how a doctrine unheard of before 1922 is treated as if it came from the early Court.

David Lawrence summed up the arguments of constitutional lawyers against the A.A.A. taxes when he said in his United States Weekly:

> There is no power in the federal Constitution to tax as a means of regulating commerce. Taxing production of farm commodities is not an exercise of the federal taxing power to obtain revenue but frankly a method of crop control. It is in violation of the Constitution.

Since no such restriction on the taxing power can be found in the Constitution, Mr. Lawrence's statement can be true only if such a limitation was generally recognized at the time the Constitution was written. If we are to believe Justice Story, whose "Commentaries on the Constitution" were published in 1831, the original American view was exactly opposite to that which is being urged upon the Supreme Court today.

"The American colonies," Story wrote, "wholly denied the authority of the British Parliament to tax them, except as a regulation of commerce; but they admitted this exercise of power as legitimate and unquestionable." The framers of the Constitution would be astonished indeed to be told that the taxing power was not intended to cover the regulation of commerce. The Constitutional Debates show that they recognized three classes of revenue bills: (1) those in which the sole purpose was revenue; (2) those in which the object was twofold, revenue and regulation, either of which might be the primary object; (3) those in which the sole object was regulation.

Madison, in the debate on the clause requiring that revenue bills originate in the House of Representatives, asked if this was to apply only to bills in which revenue was the sole or primary object. Usually, he said, the object would be twofold—revenue and the regulation of trade. "How," he asked, "would it be determined which was the primary or predominant one?"

Wilson of Pennsylvania, a leader in the Convention, said in opposing a motion to deny Congress the right to tax exports: "To deny this power is to

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tion of trade." Sherman of Connecticut, another leader, thought that the taxation of exports was wrong "except it might be such articles as ought not to be exported," and Clymer of Pennsylvania even proposed that Congress be denied power to tax exports "for purposes of revenue." That is, these men regarded the regulation of commerce as the sole legitimate use of the taxing power, so far as the taxation of exports was concerned. With what utter stupefaction would they listen to the arguments that are to be presented to the United States Supreme Court next month, to prove that when the wise fathers of the republic gave Congress power to lay taxes, they meant, but did not say, that no tax could be laid unless the primary purpose was revenue!

The Founding Fathers never dreamed of the implied limits upon the taxing power that would be read into their minds by twentieth-century judges, lawyers and business propagandists. That being the case, it is logical to ask how broad their view of the taxing power actually was. Did they, in fact, recognize any limits upon it, except those expressly written into the Constitution? Or, to put it conversely, did they regard the taxing power as unlimited in the absence of an express limitation?

Since the second child-labor decision of 1922, there has been tacit acceptance of the argument that in narrowing the taxing power, the Supreme Court was really correcting previous decisions and bringing this power of Congress back to a narrower conception held by the Fathers. Nobody, apparently, has gone back to inquire what the Fathers actually thought on the subject. So let's make the journey, and find out whether the Supreme Court in 1922 correctly expressed the views of the Founders, or whether Chief Justice Marshall expressed them when he said that "if a power exists at all, it may be exercised to the utmost extent."

It has been shown above that the framers regarded the regulation of commerce as a legitimate object of taxation, even to the exclusion of revenue. Also, they recognized that taxation could legitimately be used to destroy trade. Sherman's statement showed that, and so did a remark by Gouverneur Morris that an embargo could be established through taxation. Equally striking was the refusal of the framers to place a power to enact sumptuary laws in the Constitution because "as far as the regulation of eating and drinking can be reasonable, it is provided for in the power of taxation." The man who said that the taxing power covered reasonable sumptuary legislation, Oliver Ellsworth, afterward became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

That is enough, surely, to make the narrow interpreters of the taxing power abandon their preposterous claim that it cannot be used for the regulation of commerce. They may still contend, however, that a dual purpose is permissible because Congress has a specific power to regulate commerce as well as a specific power to tax. Let us go farther, then, and examine the views of the framers on [illegible] purposes unrelated to revenue and likewise unrelated to interstate or foreign commerce—taxation for purposes of justice and morality.

I shall lay down at this point and proceed to prove a statement which, if true, will establish the federal taxing power as an unlimited weapon of moral and economic reform. It is this: The men who wrote the Constitution believed that in the absence of specific limitations the taxing power could be used to end slavery in the United States.

In approaching this subject, let us first consider the clause in the Constitution that forbade Congress to prohibit the importation of slaves before 1808. Luther Martin of Maryland asked that this be changed to permit "a prohibition or tax." He assumed (not having heard of the American Liberty League) that a "prohibition" and a "tax" were interchangeable terms. Southern delegates consented to letting slaves be taxed "at the average rate of imports." Roger Sherman protested. "The smallness of the duty," he said, "showed revenue to be the object, not the discouragement of the importation." The Southerners finally won their point by limiting the tax to $10 for each imported slave.

Madison verified the purpose of this limitation when he said in the Virginia ratifying convention: "A tax may be laid in the meantime, but it is limited, otherwise Congress might lay such a tax as would amount to a prohibition."

No lawyer of the American Liberty League, unless his heart is extra strong, should read the proceedings of the first Congress of the United States for May 13, 1789. Should he do so he would find that Congressman Parker of Virginia, in moving that a duty of $10 per person be levied on the importation of slaves, did so hoping that it "would prevent, in some degree, this irrational and inhuman traffic." Madison supported him. "It is to be hoped," said Madison, "that by expressing a national disapprobation of this trade, we may destroy it, and save ourselves from reproaches, and our posterity the imbecility ever attendant on a country filled with slaves." Taxation was to be used for purposes of justice and humanity, unrelated to revenue.

Still, a tax on imported slaves, though for moral purposes, was not unrelated to foreign commerce. So the next step is to consider the power of Congress to tax slavery *in the states.*

The Constitution contains two clauses on direct taxation, one saying that representatives and direct taxes shall be in proportion to population, with five slaves counting as three freemen, the other providing that no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid unless in proportion to the census.

The provision that direct taxation shall be in proportion to representation was proposed by Gouverneur Morris. Its purpose was to force the Southern states to drop their demand for full representation of their Negroes. It succeeded in that purpose, the result being the 5-3 compromise. Then Morris

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ing it unwise. He failed to get it out. There is nothing in the constitutional debates to show why this limitation remained in the Constitution. Students have made a guess that it was to prevent slaves from being taxed at the level of free citizens.

Madison stated the real purpose in the Virginia ratifying convention. His explanation has been utterly ignored by historians and constitutional lawyers, although, in its bearing on issues now before the Supreme Court, it is one of the most important utterances ever made regarding the Constitution.

"From the mode of representation and taxation," said Madison, *"Congress cannot lay such a tax on slaves as will amount to manumission."*

The corollary to that is: Without this special limitation, Congress could have used the taxing power to wipe out slavery *in the states.*

Madison also said that the capitation-tax clause had the same purpose, to protect slavery from an otherwise unlimited power of taxation.[1] Abraham Baldwin, a Georgia delegate to the Constitutional Convention, made this clear in the first Congress, February 12, 1790, saying:

> It is declared, in the same section, "that no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census"; this was intended to prevent Congress from laying *any special tax upon Negro slaves,* as they might, in this way, so burthen the possessors of them as *to induce a general emancipation.*

We have here an unqualified statement, from the framers of the Constitution, that in the absence of a special restriction Congress could have used the taxing power to wipe out slavery in the states by a special tax on slaves. What does this leave of the 1922 child-labor decision of the Supreme Court? What does it leave of the argument against the A.A.A. processing taxes, or the tax levied under the Guffey Coal Act?

Except for the special provision on direct taxes, and the requirement that duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform, there are no limitations on the taxing power of Congress. Everywhere, outside these special limitations, it is capable of use to carry out purposes of humanity and justice equivalent in nature to the manumission of slaves within the states. The Tenth Amendment does not affect it, because the power to tax is a power stated in the Constitution, not one reserved to the states, and the framers recognized, in their attitude toward this power, that it could invade fields otherwise reserved to the states.

Truly, a titanic and sweeping power, but titanic and sweeping by decree of the framers of the Constitution. Narrowed, not by them, but in defiance of their views, by constitutional lawyers of the twentieth century. If the Supreme Court nullifies the processing taxes, or the coal tax, or any tax imposed to express (in Madison's words) "a national disapprobation" of cruelty and injustice, it will do so without one word of support from the text of the Constitution, and in complete disregard of the views of its framers.

IRVING BRANT.

The Nazi War on Medicine

Blood is the only basis of health . . . and modern medical science is a deep-laid plot of the Jews, the Freemasons and their enslaved press to destroy the pure Teutonic races by poisoning their blood.
The People's Health.

GERMANY is in the midst of a new crusade. A short, stocky man with Prussian-clipped bald pate works incessantly in Nuremburg, putting out issues of a magazine called The People's Health (Volksgesundheit). The man is Julius Streicher, world's most notorious anti-Semite, outstanding Nazi radical and Brownshirt boss of northern Bavaria. His magazine is the mouthpiece of the latest swastika drive, the new and unique Nazi war on medicine.

The People's Health is the most astonishing pseudo-scientific journal ever published with the sanction of a government. Titles of a few of its articles will give an idea of its contents: "Sleep with Your Head to the North," "Nordic Feeding," "The Best Bed for Rheumatism—a Sack of Dried Ferns," "Medical Mistreatment of Animals a Jewish World Philosophy," and "Bio-Chemistry, the New Science of 'Mineral-Salts-Health-Teaching' (Mineralsalzheillehre)." The medical standards of its pages can be epitomized in such a statement as "Purifying of the blood by such methods as 'home healing,' 'the herbs of old Teutonic lore' and 'the cold-water treatment from the hose' is the only cure necessary."

However, the most significant thing about the Nazis' new "nature-cure" magazine is not its fad and fraud medicine. The real motive back of the Brownshirt "scientific" publication is anti-Semitism. Publisher Julius Streicher's famous war cry, "The Jew is the Embodiment of the Unnatural" *(Die Jude ist die Verkörperung des Unnatürlichen)* screams at the reader from every page. Choice excerpts from Hitler's "My Struggle," such as, "The Jew poisons the blood of others," sprinkle every issue in half-inch high, fat black-face letters. Cap-

[1] This makes it possible to understand, for the first time, what logical reason there is for two nearly duplicate clauses on direct taxes in the Constitution. One protected slavery before the taking of a census, the other afterward, a matter of some importance in view of the fear that Congress, to avoid a reapportionment, would

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soner," "International Jewry the Creator of the World War," "Who Patronizes Jewish Physicians Is a Traitor to His People."

Radical Nazidom has developed in The People's Health the idea of the Jewish medical plot. This theory declares that the sinister purpose of the Jew is to weaken and dominate the Nordic peoples. The publishers say that he has done this many times in the past. He smashed the civilizations of Egypt, Greece and Rome—as is "proved" by quotations from such sources as the forged "Protocols of Zion" and "historical" statements lifted from Hitler and other prominent Nazis.

Here is the genesis of the plot as explained to the readers of The People's Health. About a century ago certain Jews, aided by the Freemasons and the Jewish bond-slave capitalists and their press, decided to conquer the world. Their insidious plan was to buy their way into medicine and corrupt it. They succeeded in doing this. The People's Health names as the "tools" of this intrigue the foremost scientists of German medicine. First of these is Rudolf Virchow, renowned cell-pathologist, who is denounced as "an opponent of Bismarck and fraternizer with Jews—who, in fact, looked like a Jew himself." Paul Ehrlich, first to check the syphilis scourge with his invention of salvarsan, is rewarded with the epithet, "destroyer of billions' worth of German property and condemner of millions of Germans to death." Wassermann, whose test is the basis for all present-day treatment of syphilis, is declared "to have accomplished nothing but endless failures."

The climax to attacks on "the Jewish spirit in medicine" is the extraordinary polemic against Robert Koch, famous discoverer of the tuberculosis germ. Koch, relates the article, sold himself early in his career to those "interests" who have been permeating orthodox medicine since the French Revolution. In a crude paraphrase of the Faust theme Koch is charged with having turned Jewish hireling, married a woman who was a Jew and bought fame at the price of his Nordic soul by a tubercular discovery that was a myth and a fraud. For tuberculosis, affirms the pseudo-scientific writer, is really a "corruption of the blood caused by improper living and false thinking."

"Robert Koch had no soul," says the article. "He locked himself in his laboratory and daily tortured basketsful of animals to death to find his so-called healing method. In place of a soul the black devil of the Jewish spirit entered into him. Contact with the poisons of his own tuberculosis serums so befouled his own blood that it drove him on to rob millions of his own race of their strength, health and beauty. This is the true story of Robert Koch and how he became an epidemic spreader."

But what is the means the Jew uses to poison the otherwise superior Nordics? Serums, bawls the nature-cure periodical in answer. Accordingly Th[illegible] fanatical war against vaccination. The caption that heads this feature, "Alien Albumen Is Poison" *(Artfremdes Eiweiss ist Gift")*, was coined by a high official of Hitler Germany, the Nazi Culture Minister for Bavaria, Hans Schemm. Vaccination, contends Schemm, is merely a subtle scheme for injecting harmful animal products into the blood of men. "One drop of animal blood suffices to poison an Aryan, exposing him helplessly to diseases, epidemics and even death," categorically states the Culture Minister. He adds: "Animal albumen can also radically affect the bodily structure, changing the shape of the skull, making the skeleton narrower and smaller and not infrequently causing flat feet." Readers of the magazine are reliably informed that Jenner's serum had nothing to do with wiping out small-pox in Germany. Though cases dropped plummetlike from 180,000 to a few hundred when the English serum was imported in 1874, the real cause, "it has been discovered, is that in this year the first chair of Hygiene was established in the University of Munich."

Extremist leaders of the Third Reich make their most direct appeal, however, to rabid anti-Semitic emotions in their propagandizing of a "Jewish sexual plot." The following paragraphs are taken from the leading editorial in the first issue of The People's Health. They show how the "sexual plot" and the "medical plot" are linked together.

> Alien albumen is not only harmful animal serums injected into the blood in the name of therapy, but also is the semen of a man of any alien race. Such male semen is absorbed immediately and completely into the blood of the female in intercourse. Therefore a single contact between a Jew and a woman of another race is sufficient to corrupt her blood forever. With this alien albumen she also acquires his alien soul. She can never again, even if she marries an Aryan man, bear pure Aryan children—only bastards [*Bastarden*] in whose breasts two souls dwell and in whose very bodies degeneration is clearly visible.
>
> Now we understand why the Jew concentrates with all arts of seduction upon violating German girls as early in life as possible; why the Jewish physician ravishes his women patients while under anesthetics; why Jewish wives even permit their husbands to have union with non-Jewish women. German women and girls, don't let Jewish physicians hypnotize you and drug you—for never again can you bear German children!

Fortunately there is a diverting side to the Nazi war on medicine. This is provided by the "nature medicine" the radicals have been driven to develop as a substitute for the medicine they are striving to do away with. This "natural" medicine turns out to be an incredible hash of "health rules," of homeopathy and mesmerism, of herb cures, mud baths, cold-water dousings, Nordicism and sun-bathing.

Since Hitler—this is not well known even in Ger-

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"to harden the German race." One issue devotes a full-page article to "Ten Commandments Against Smoking," chief of which are that it costs money, causes forest fires, is a poison—"one drop of nicotine can kill twenty men"—smells unpleasant and "gives rise to over one hundred diseases." But the clinching argument is that it is "especially reprehensible because it interferes with that fertility which is necessary to the greatness of the Fatherland."

The German government not only tolerates such grotesque doctrines but also officially encourages the "nature healers." On May 26 the State proclaimed the first National Day of German Folk Healing, at the conclusion of the Congress of Nature Healers called in Nuremburg. Some 5,000 delegates from all parts of Germany attended this congress, which lasted ten days and consisted largely of anti-Semitic "rallies" and lectures on panaceas of the "new" medicine. Prominent Nazis spoke, including Reich Minister Hess and Hitler's appointee as boss of all Germany's physicians, Reich Medical Leader Wagner.

How many Germans have been attracted by the new Nazi medicine? Here are the figures given officially, July 1, by The People's Health. There are seven Leagues of Folk or Nature Healing in Germany. Their actual enrolled membership totals 500,000 families. But the "circulation" membership of the nature-healing leagues goes far higher than this. Over a million copies of the combined nature-healing magazines of Germany are sold every month. "Further," adds The People's Health, "since National Socialism came into power, more than two million books and booklets of the new 'nature' medicine have been sold to a regenerated Germany."

This sounds impressive. But still more so are the words of various Nazi potentates on Germany's "purity-and-blood" medicine:

"National Socialism will not halt before the fools of the German technical schools and the fools of science. If today we are going to create a new science of healing, it can never be based on the overestimated discoveries of the old science; it must be based only on our National Socialist world philosophy."—Reich Medical Leader Wagner.

"I am especially proud to be before you on this first National Folk Healing Day to announce that I have given up my faith in the old 'scientific' medicine and have now become one of you, with wholehearted allegiance to the 'new nature healing.'"
—Deputy Reichsführer Rudolf Hess.

A third confession of faith is reprinted in the pages of The People's Health: "All great cultures of the past fell because the creating race declined through poisoning of the blood. It is the Jew who poisons blood. There is only one sacred human right—the sacred duty to keep our blood clean." These are the quoted sentiments of Adolf

Washington Notes

Will Labor Press for Constitutional Amendment?—The Great Neutrality Battle—Permissive or Mandatory Embargo Legislation?

THE SUDDEN interest of the A.F. of L. leadership in the Constitution is regarded by observers here as one of the most genuinely significant developments in a long time. Even as recently as its October convention, the A.F. of L. showed a disposition to shy away from any discussion of constitutional issues. But within the last few weeks, William Green has seized every opportunity to emphasize the concern of labor over possible adverse decisions of the Supreme Court in cases involving the Guffey Coal, the Labor Relations and the Social Security Acts.

As is generally known, a section of Mr. Roosevelt's advisers regard the Supreme Court as the one formidable obstacle to the New Deal program. In their view, the Supreme Court is the real second chamber of our legislative system. The Senate they consider merely an irrelevant excrescence. The Supreme Court is in practice the body that exercises veto power over laws with a popular majority behind them. Furthermore, in the Supreme Court, as in the British House of Lords or the French Senate, big business has a permanent, unshakable majority.

The administration advisers holding this view, however, recognize that the semi-religious aura surrounding the Supreme Court protects it against any purely intellectual attack. To accuse the Court of being guided by economic considerations rather than by a mystic zeal to do justice would be considered a form of secular blasphemy. They have resigned themselves, therefore, to waiting for the moment when the Court would reveal its class bias by its own acts. The growing alarm of labor makes them think that this moment is at hand. In a recent speech Green said baldly that if the Supreme Court handed down a series of anti-labor decisions during its present term, labor would consider undertaking a drive for constitutional changes.

However feeble the A.F. of L. may be in its conduct of strikes, in lobbying it is extremely effective. No lobby is really efficient, but among other pressure groups the A.F of L. ranks high. If it should decide to work for a constitutional amendment, it could probably muster one hundred and fifty votes in the House. Mr. Roosevelt would then be confronted with the most explosive issue of his administration. If he decided to oppose the A.F. of L., he would be allying himself, temporarily at least, with the employers. A great part of his liberal and labor support would feel that it had been betrayed. Yet if he were openly to advocate constitutional changes, he might conceivably split the Democratic Party. In any case, by driving the independent middle-class vote into the arms of the Republicans, he would risk losing New England and the East.

Another great issue that will soon need to be fought out is neutrality. As soon as Congress meets, the question of whether to add war materials to our present embargo of actual munitions will arise. The war materials most com-

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and trucks, cotton and wheat. It must be realized that a nation engaged in war always tries to husband its foreign exchange, and that this list covers virtually all the goods that we would be likely to sell to a belligerent. If Congress votes for an embargo on war materials, it will vote for a more or less complete stoppage of trade with Europe in the event of another general conflict.

Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hull have both come out definitely against selling war materials to Italy and they are apparently ready to support legislation greatly extending their present embargo powers. Experts in gauging public sentiment believe that an embargo of all war materials would be immensely popular with the country. The exposures of the Nye investigating committee last spring, they think, aroused a great hatred of war profiteering, which will be augmented when the committee resumes hearings.

Advocates of a drastic embargo, however, are guarding against overconfidence. What they fear is a combination of blocs, each interested in a particular commodity. If the Representatives and Senators from the wheat states band together with those from the oil, copper and steel states, all neutrality legislation may be lost at the next session. There is good evidence that war materials were omitted from the present temporary act last summer through precisely these tactics. One proposal now being discussed is to omit wheat, and perhaps cotton, from the list presented to Congress. It is argued that there is no important country in the world, except England, which relies on imported wheat to feed its armies, and that England can always obtain adequate supplies from Canada and Australia. This is a somewhat doubtful argument. While it is true that most European countries have sufficient domestic supplies for their soldiers in the field, a number of them would need to import food if their civilian populations were not to go short, and the maintenance of civilian morale is an exceedingly important element of victory. Wheat would undoubtedly become contraband, and would be seized by whatever belligerent controlled the seas. But the effective reason for omitting wheat from the war-materials list is that it would permit the Congressmen from the farm states to support an embargo. With their aid, and outside pressure from pacifist organizations, neutrality legislation would probably pass.

The attitude of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hull on the more vital question of whether embargo legislation should be mandatory or permissive remains doubtful. At the time of the temporary act last summer, Mr. Roosevelt tried to have it made permissive, and Mr. Hull's recent speeches indicate that the administration's position is unchanged. State Department officials argue that it is essential for the President to have the right to choose between belligerents. They point out that this country still has an official European policy, which includes salvaging the war debts, upholding the Kellogg-Briand Pact and furthering the cause of disarmament. How can the country expect its diplomatic service to carry out its mission, they ask, if we are not ready, under certain conditions, to promise assistance to nations that coöperate with us? There are many members of Congress, including many active peace advocates, who are attracted by such arguments, and those who think we can keep out of war only by adopting a policy of relative isolation will face a struggle when the next session opens.

On the Labor Front

An Indictment of Federal Relief Policies—Mr. Balleison of Brooklyn—A Collective-Bargaining Defeat for the Artists

BURIED away in an unpublished study of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration are some rather sensational charges against the relief policies of the federal and local governments during the past year. The study, as reported by the Federated Press, supports in detail the criticism most frequently made by labor—that the administration of relief has been warped to suit the needs and prejudices of employers. This is especially true of the actions taken in some fourteen states a few months ago, when relief was suddenly stopped or drastically cut on the pretense that a shortage of labor existed and that people on relief were refusing to work. The F.E.R.A. study examines the experiences in these states and summarizes its criticism of the policies adopted under four heads (the quoted material is from the body of the report):

1. The suspension of relief was not necessary to induce relief clients to accept employment. ("The reports of labor shortage were exaggerated. . . .")
2. The closing of relief offices was unnecessarily extreme. ("Many were not employable either because of age or physical disability, and the discontinuance of their relief was entirely unjustifiable.")
3. The sudden suspension of relief tended to undermine existing conditions. ("A sharp flooding of any labor market is certain to depress wages. When the labor supply is already impoverished and is forced to compete or starve, the decline in wages is aggravated.")
4. The suspension of relief was used to crush strikes.

A flagrant example of the use of relief suspension against organized labor was the action taken by M. A. Kennedy, South Dakota relief administrator, at the time the workers in the Morrell packing plant in Sioux Falls were on strike. Mr. Kennedy wrote to county officials as follows: "Without desiring to be specific, but in view of the local conditions existing in Sioux Falls, persons refusing employment with the Morrell packing plant, or any other employer, where wages, hours and labor conditions are satisfactory, must not be given relief from state or federal funds."

The conditions reviewed in this study are of more than academic interest at the present time, when new efforts are being made to stop direct relief and to force, in wholesale fashion, everyone now on direct relief to accept employment, whether he is fitted for it or not. Fortunately, President Roosevelt has promised (in his address last week to the United States Conference of Mayors) that the federal government "does not propose to let people starve after the first of July any more than during the past few years." It is to be hoped, of course, that the qualification, "any more than during the past few years," was inadvertent and did not imply a repetition of last summer's relief policies.

As a result of the energetic [illegible]

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the Atlas Bag and Burlap Company of Brooklyn has been charged with coercing and intimidating its employees into joining a company union. Mr. Balleison, according to testimony produced before the New York Regional Labor Board last week, forced the Atlas employees to sign a contract appointing a company union as their representative in collective bargaining. "Nobody who will not sign the contract can work here," he is reported to have told the workers, a majority of whom were members of the Burlap and Cotton Bag Local of the United Textile Workers of America. The case has special significance because Mr. Balleison is credited by the labor board with having had a hand in organizing some three hundred other company unions, both among members and non-members of the Brooklyn chamber.

The American Society of Painters, Sculptors and Gravers recently attempted—unsuccessfully—to do a little collective bargaining on behalf of its 128 members. It wrote a letter to art museums proposing—very politely—that they consider the possibility of paying a small rental fee for paintings, drawings, etc., on exhibition. In effect, the Society suggested that artists, many of whom were in great need, should receive some equitable economic return when their work was exhibited. This would enable them to buy food and other necessities and to keep on working. One would have thought that the museum directors, devoted as they must be to the cause of art and of artists, would have welcomed this modest proposal with considerable sympathy.

But here is what happened. Some museums failed to acknowledge the Society's letter, some wrote curt replies, flatly refusing to consider the proposal, while others wrote lengthier letters, pleading that the rental costs would be too high. The Society tried again. It asked for an opportunity to present its case at a meeting of the Association of Museum Directors. The Society was prepared to show that the museums could afford the rental fee, if they would spend a trifle more of their budgets, which now go preponderantly for the purchase of old masters, on the encouragement of living American art. But the Association of Museum Directors, acting much in the manner of an employers' group, refused to give the artists a hearing. Instead, it passed a resolution declaring that "We unanimously refuse to take a painting, piece of sculpture or print . . ." to which a rental fee is attached.

In brief, the museum directors refused to give artists the right to act as a guild and to act collectively on conditions vital to their well-being. In retaliation, the Society has adopted trade-union tactics and called for a boycott of all museums that refuse to pay a rental fee. Apparently the first to feel the effects of the boycott was the Worcester Museum. From its current biennial showing of living American painting, according to The New York Times, "work by many of our leading artists is conspicuously missing as a result of these artists' refusal to contribute on the old non-rental basis."

WILLIAM P. MANGOLD.

CORRESPONDENCE

An Open Letter to Harry L. Hopkins

SIR: On account of the confusion in the administration of the Writers' Project here in Massachusetts, I am writing you an open letter. I am sorry to bother you, but the state administrators have left me with no alternative. I am a writer who, when the Writers' Project was announced, felt that was something that I could do and maintain my self-respect at the same time. I found there were a lot of others just like me. We got together and formed the Artists' and Writers' Union of Massachusetts.

The Writers' Project was announced in July. It was started October 1. The state administrator in Massachusetts was appointed five weeks ago. At this writing, November 18, very few writers have been put to work. New York, Pennsylvania and other states have hundreds working on this project, and you will naturally ask yourself why this isn't true of Massachusetts. I wanted to know why, too. So, I went to the state administrator of the Writers' Project—a historian, Dr. Clifford K. Shipton—and asked him why. When I was not satisfied with his answers, I went to other administrators. I learned that all writers who were in the Union and who had registered with us were unemployable because they had not taken government charity before. There was a May 31 ruling, I was told, which says that no one who has not been on relief before that date can get relief now. This date has since been extended to November 1, but this did us in Massachusetts no good at all, because there had been no more registering on account of the May 31 ruling. We are a group of people in desperate straits, who have the technical training and experience to do a certain job. Are we to be penalized because up to this time we have done everything we could to maintain ourselves and keep off the relief rolls?

In the beginning, the administrators held out some hope. There were so few people already on the relief rolls who could qualify [illegible] were taken care of. A week or two later Dr. Shipton told a group of us from the Union that there was a surplus of writers in eastern Massachusetts and he added, with what I considered undue emphasis, *"good* writers." So I went around and found out about these people Dr. Shipton considers good writers. They are school teachers who think they can write. Now, perhaps they can. But they teach school by profession.

Why cannot people like me, who are obviously qualified as professional writers, get on the ten percent of his relief appropriation that every administrator is allowed to use for people not on relief rolls? I went to Dr. Shipton about this too. He replied that he is making up his ten percent with experts — architects, archeologists, art experts, geologists, etc. In Massachusetts I suppose that the Writers' Project will get under way some time, and that when that time comes there will be historians, art experts, archeologists, geologists, architects and school teachers all employable and all employed—on the Writers' Project. Writers may be experts or they merely may have made a living for twelve years (as was my case) by writing, but you can pick them up on the streets of Boston for a dime a dozen.

I want to know, Mr. Hopkins, is that the way you wanted it to work?

MYRIAM SIEVE.

Boston, Mass.

P.S. Since writing you there has been one heartening development here, no thanks to Dr. Shipton. A committee of the Writers' and Artists' Union has been received by Federal Administrator Alsberg and given his official sanction. Mr. Alsberg told the committee to have writers register for relief in spite of the May 31 ruling, implying that such harmful red tape should not be allowed to stand in the way. Something may come of this—but we are still very much up against the problem of Administrator Shipton

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Footnote to a Review

SIR: Isidor Schneider in his review of Valeriu Marcu's "The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain," appearing in the November 20 issue of The New Republic, very gradually, and oh so very gently, leads up to an unfavorable conclusion, but so gradually and so gently that unless the reader takes last lines very seriously he is likely not to take the hint. In short, your reviewer understates the case: he fails to indicate the basic viciousness of Marcu's thesis. Marcu's book is not historical but hysterical. Marcu implies that the Jews are successful in money matters because their Talmud teaches them economics, and he repeats the oft-repeated tale, without disputing it, that they have on occasion been guilty of ritualistic murder. He stacks the cards against the Jews: even their morality is due to Jewish coldness! That so reliable a firm as the Viking Press should be guilty of perpetrating these fictions is deplorable.

Brooklyn, N. Y. DORIS BENARDETE.

Scholarships for Labor Leaders

SIR: Commonwealth College, a united-front, non-factional labor school which exists for the purpose of training leaders for the Southern labor movement, has offered to the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union an unlimited number of scholarships in order to prepare young sharecroppers for their immediate struggles—struggles which in most cases center around a demand for a wage scale of a dollar a day. The scholarships will be awarded to students selected by H. L. Mitchell, secretary of the union.

Commonwealth has no endowment, no rich benefactors, and sharecroppers haven't enough to eat. If we are to train leaders for Southern labor—and the need is desperate—funds must be obtained. We have already raised money enough to cover complete scholarships for two young, aggressive sharecroppers. At least five more cotton pickers should receive the benefit of training in farm organization and labor problems. Readers of The New Republic will do starving Negro and white workers a service by sending their contributions, no matter how slight, to the college.

CHARLOTTE MOSKOWITZ, Secretary-Treasurer,
Mena, Ark. Commonwealth College.

In Defense of Social Workers

SIR: Since the day of its first issue, The New Republic has represented for me the best in American journalism. It is my sustained respect for the soundness of your social interpretations that makes me wish that I had seen some of the statements in your editorial of October 30 on "Terrorism for the Unemployed" in any other periodical I know of.

Of relief conditions in New York I know too little to quarrel with your specific findings. Nor do I care to undertake a brief on the universal perfection of social workers. I have had enough convincing evidence to the effect that they are not only human but in some instances inhuman, not only toward their clients but toward each other. On the other hand, a fairly broad field experience has led me to a realization of the limited scope of their actual influence in relief policies and administrative practice. The relief program has been predominantly a lay program demanding the most subtle and adroit art on the part of the social worker in obtaining any effective place in the picture. The accepted pattern of relief administration has been work relief, and work rather than relief has been all too often the weightier term in the combination. Administrative organizations have been developed on a basis of competency to handle projects rather than deal understandingly with the needs of people under intolerable economic and emotional strain.

I know at first hand the heroic fight that social workers have made in behalf of the human values they have tried to serve, the incredible difficulties they have had to overcome in "socializing" their own administrative superiors. They have quietly accepted the blame for much they have sought to avert and have interposed themselves as conciliatory buffers between blundering administrators and indignant clients. . . .

Simple justice demands this much of a statement at least in a journal that represents the discriminating minority from which

Objection

SIR: If a residence in Mexico, and first-hand study of its problems for more than twenty-five years, offer anything substantial to go on, in the way of shaping opinion, I am regretfully impelled to say this:

That in the course of long reading of The New Republic, I have never seen more unfair and unoriented judgments expressed in it than those in the reviews of Bishop Kelley's and Dr. MacFarland's books, in the issue of November 13.

New York City. ROBERT HAMMOND MURRAY.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Ernest Neil of Kalamazoo, Michigan, writes that the League of Nations should institute a boycott against Japan as well as Italy, for it is his idea that Japan constitutes the greatest threat to general world peace today. . . . Sam Lockwood, Jr., manager of the Association for Economic Reading in Portland, Oregon, submits a plan to employ youth and "brain workers" in a nationwide educational program. The plan would provide for the regular distribution of texts on specific subjects and the employment of the local supervisors to direct individual study.

The American Friends of the Chinese People inform us that the September issue of the magazine, China Today, was confiscated by police upon its arrival in Yokohama, Japan, because of a cartoon by Gropper showing a figure supposed to be the Japanese Emperor sprawling with grasping hands over a map of Manchuria, Mongolia and Northern China. The magazine also attacked Japanese imperialism on the Asiatic mainland. . . . The Provisional Committee for Cuba, 77 Fifth Avenue, New York City, asks help in raising a fund to bring to the United States Dr. Juan Marinello, editor and teacher, who because of his liberal opinions has been deprived of a chance to make a livelihood in Cuba. The government suppressed his magazine, Resumen, and imprisoned him for six months. Waldo Frank and others consider him one of the most gifted of the younger writers and scholars in Cuba. . . . The Consumers' Action Committee from its headquarters at 30 Irving Place, in New York City, urges New York consumers who are interested in the proposed amendments to the municipal sanitary code providing for stricter regulation of the food and drug trades to send a message to Mayor LaGuardia urging that this legislation be adopted. A public hearing on the proposed amendments had been scheduled for December 2, but was called off by the Mayor when representatives of the food and drug interests promised to support federal legislation on the subject. The Copeland bill, which is presumably the federal legislation referred to, is believed by the Consumers' Action Committee to be totally inadequate in its safeguards.

Eleanor Stevenson writes from New Milford, Connecticut, to denounce the continued obstinacy of Consumers' Research in refusing to arbitrate the present strike and she protests against that organization's tactics of presenting only its own side of the dispute in communications mailed to its subscribers. . . . W. P. Deppé, an engineer of New York City, calls attention to the danger of carbon monoxide poisoning resulting from the exhaust gases of automobile engines and thinks that some improvements in engine design should be made looking toward making these gases less lethal in their effect.

The Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, is offering twelve scholarships amounting to $100 each and covering all expenses for the two-month winter term to worthy students over twenty-one years of age who are interested in qualifying themselves for positions of leadership in the labor movement. . . . Courses for adults to train themselves in leading children's classes in arts and crafts are being arranged by the Federation of Children's Organizations, whose headquarters are at 50 East Thirteenth Street, New York City. . . . The Partisan Review announces that registrations are now being accepted at 430 Sixth Avenue, New York City, for this year's term of the John Reed Writers' School, scheduled to open on December 2. Writers' workshop courses in modern literary forms will be given by instructors and guest lecturers including Granville Hicks, Joseph Freeman, Josephine Herbst, Edwin Seaver, Langston Hughes, Isidor Schneider,

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Tourism in Drama

A Treasury of the Theatre, by Burns Mantle and John Gassner. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1,640 pages. $3.75.

THE JACKET on this volume tells us that "for many years lovers of the drama have wanted a single volume which would contain the best plays of all times and all countries," and that the editors have attempted to fill this demand. The volume is further described as an anthology of great plays from Aeschylus to Eugene O'Neill. There may be some dispute, obviously, as to the greatness of divers plays included; and it is more than obvious that there have been many times and many countries when the best play would not be a great play at all.

The editors are both professional critics, so that their choice may have a special interest. Molnar's "Liliom," Gorky's "The Lower Depths," Chekhov's "The Cherry Orchard," Hauptmann's "The Weavers," Strindberg's "The Father," Pirandello's "Six Characters in Search of an Author," Ibsen's "Hedda Gabler" and Goethe's "Faust, Part I" are selected. Kalidasa's "Shakuntala" represents India, and there is a Japanese Noh play, and "Job." From the British Isles come Sherriff's "Journey's End," Galsworthy's "Escape," Shaw's "Candida," Synge's "Riders to the Sea," Shelley's "The Cenci," Congreve's "The Way of the World," Webster's "The Duchess of Malfi," Jonson's "Volpone," "Hamlet," "Everyman," and Wilde's "The Importance of Being Earnest." From America come "Of Thee I Sing" by Kaufman and Ryskind, "The Green Pastures" by Connelly, "What Price Glory?" by Stallings and Anderson, "Elizabeth the Queen" by Anderson, and "Anna Christie" by O'Neill. Greece gets four plays, France three.

More than a seventh of this world book of great plays, therefore, is American. Britain has eleven; with Euripides, say, left out, or Chekhov, that would mean a third. Molière's "The Misanthrope," Racine's "Phædra" and Rostand's "Cyrano de Bergerac" are the French plays. The Greek are Aeschylus' "Agamemnon," Aristophanes' "Lysistrata," Euripedes' "Electra" and Sophocles' "Antigone." The last two, considering the whole list of Euripides' and Sophocles' dramas, are strange choices, though we can safely say that either of these dramas is as great as "The Importance of Being Earnest." Something of the same kind might be said for Benavente's "Bonds of Interest" *("Los Intereses Creados")* or "The Passion Flower" *("La Malquerida")*, either one of which may have played a part in his being awarded the Nobel Prize.

What is it in our country that makes us need only supremacies? "An anthology of plays from Aeschylus to Eugene O'Neill" may be a good lively idea. Chosen by agreeable personalities, the line of these plays, the progression of their sequence, may be in itself agreeable. But why must they be "great" plays? Can we, as a people that is so absorbed in general with the all-conquering non-significant, not bear to engage ourselves with any play that is less than a summit? Must there be for us in every case of culture a gilding of the pill? What sort of standard is there by which Galsworthy's "Escape" — a mere mamma-thrope"? "Liliom" comes also into this company of greatness. "Liliom" is a brilliant and facile vehicle, perhaps a little more. It has had its successes, but so have many other pieces, "La Dame aux Camellias," for example, or even "The Two Orphans."

As to "The Green Pastures"—(Author's Note) "The author [Mr. Marc Connelly] is indebted to Mr. Roark Bradford, whose retelling of several of the Old Testament stories in 'Ol' Man Adam an' His Chillun' first stimulated his interest in this point of view." What a whirl that is for us! Practically everything of deep or naïve value in "The Green Pastures" is from Roark Bradford's book, though Mr. Connelly saw the stage possibilities in it and strung it all into stage form, with various excellent treatments. In the meantime, however, he messed it up with a sort of oratorio ending about the Messiah and sacrifice, out of tone with most of the play, not to speak of adding a wretched Harlem café scene, et cetera, et cetera. The stage singing by the Negroes in "The Green Pastures" added thirty percent to the whole effect, and added to that a fair percent came from the imagination and genius of Mr. Robert Edmond Jones' décor. Some note to this effect might, at least, be of use at the beginning of the play, as it takes its place alongside "The Cherry Orchard."

The choice of plays included in "A Treasury of the Theatre" is, therefore, quite obviously variable—one principle behind it, perhaps, is that a majority of the plays included have been produced in New York, which lends a certain charm except to readers living not in New York. And another principle regulating the selection is a desire to keep the anthology fresh and, if you like, appealing. It would be better to say so, and let the volume go its way—"haffable is as haffable does."

Short prefaces are written for each play in the volume. They vary. That, for example, introducing "Of Thee I Sing"—admirable choice—is exactly right in fact and in tone. On the other hand, that, for example, introducing Racine's "Phaedra" reminds me of La Rochefoucauld: *"On s'ennuie presque toujours avec les gens avec qui il n'est permis de s'ennuyer"*—one is almost always bored with the people with whom it is not permitted to be bored.

The volume contains also an introduction. There is, too, a list of "representative world's plays," of considerable catholicity, all the way, in fact, from Calderon's "Life Is a Dream" to John Wexley's "They Shall Not Die." And there is a bibliography and a Note on Translations. The Note on Translations, often admirably helpful, will, nevertheless, bear watching. For example, the Guiterman-Langner version of "The School for Husbands," produced by the Theatre Guild two years ago, is not "notable"; it is ridiculous. It is a travesty on Molière's superb dramatic construction, as well as being a confused jumble put together out of "Le Mariage Forcé" and "L'Ecole des Maris," with two themes that defeat each other.

Scattered through many of the prefaces we find a delighted, acute and generous approach to the subject in hand, and the genuine sense of the practical theatre that we might expect from such editors. The volume, taken in a spirit wholly unpretentious and, as it were, pleasantly chosen, has a commercial advantage in supplying so considerable a

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

How English Liberalism Died

WHAT WOULD have happened in England, if at Serajevo in June, 1914, the hand of that consumptive Serbian student had trembled as he fired at the heir to the Austrian throne? The World War would not have come precisely when it did, but a hurricane of native origin would, none the less, have struck the British Isles. It is unlikely that a civil war between North and South could have been postponed for many months in Ireland, and this, when it came, must have been the signal for the open rebellion of the Tory Opposition against Mr. Asquith's Liberal government. The stage was set, moreover, for a general strike in the early fall of 1914, with the triple alliance of miners, railwaymen and transport workers as its shock-troops. The militant suffragists had exhausted all the milder forms of pressure and protest: in this continual crescendo, when they had tired of burning churches and country mansions, to what more deadly form of terrorism would they next have resorted? The years that lay between 1910 and 1914 make the most enigmatic chapter in the modern history of England. A progressive, humanitarian administration was in power, which with all its good intentions managed to drive the Irish to arms, the women to terrorism, the workers to a revolutionary tactic and the upper class to an open conspiracy against the Constitution.

The titanic tragedy that actually happened blotted out these years from the memory of most of us. The sequel, when it came, was distorted and delayed. The women got the vote without further militancy in the glow of wartime fraternity, but the general strike, postponed in 1914, came at last in 1926. The Irish had to fight not Ulster but the Empire. Liberals and Tories embraced in a middle-class coalition that endures, after an interval of confusion, to this day. Yet in spite of the break in continuity, something decisive, something irreparable, happened in these years. Turn back to them now, and the truculence, the recklessness, the violence of this period seem incredibly, incomprehensibly un-English. The temperature was hotter than this placid island had experienced at any time since the Reform Bill of 1832, hotter even than it became a decade later, when a general strike actually occurred. The startling thing was not so much that Irishmen armed, or that Welsh miners rioted. The startling thing was that the upper and upper-middle class, the leaders of the Conservative Party and some of the most highly placed generals of the army, were avenging their class for the curtailment of the powers of the House of Lords by organizing armed rebellion and mutiny in Ulster. Nothing comparable had happened in British history since the army deserted King James in 1688.

Of this puzzling and eventful period, Mr. George Dangerfield has given us a vivid and readable record,[1] alive from the first page to the last. He was a boy during these years, and without the aid of memory he has attempted to live through them. He has managed to reconstitute the salient events so successfully that the book has the vivacity of a contemporary chronicle. He is unusually happy in his portraiture even of men and women who had vanished from the scene before he came to man's estate. He writes with easy brilliance and often with a pleasantly malicious wit. This is history told with a movie technique. It gallops along without a pause or a doubt. It seldom condescends to give a reference, and it never bothers us with figures; the interpretation comes by flashes, hints and epigrams.

Inevitably the book has the defects of its merits. It turns the flashlight so steadily on the more startling events in this swift agony of English Liberalism that it all but ignores the quieter chapters of the record. The militants are "featured" in this historian's Hollywood with marked disproportion. Of Mr. Lloyd George's "New Deal" there is no serious study; Sir Edward Grey's foreign policy is ignored altogether, and the naval issue is treated as a mere episode in Mr. Churchill's star performance. There are some slips and several mistakes that any contemporary could have corrected. Twice Mr. Dangerfield tells us that the Irish Party numbered eight score, which is twice too many. It is not the fact that Mr. Churchill was ever a supporter of the militants, or that the Labor Party was ever neutral in the suffrage question. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst assumes in this narrative an importance that no contemporary chronicler would have given her. What Mr. Dangerfield's final analysis of the death of liberalism really is, he failed to convey to this reviewer.

To Mr. Dangerfield's principal argument one might reply that English liberalism has not perished. As an attitude to life, based on an ethical and rationalistic view of society, it survives in the main body of the Labor Party, in the Nonconformist churches, in a still influential press, and even in a wing of the Tory Party. It is still, with its mingled shrewdness and self-deception, the typical English way of thinking. What did die in its hour of seeming triumph was the Liberal Party. It represented the industrial and commercial section of the middle class, which had been conscious since the eighteenth century of its antagonism, partly social, partly economic, to the land-owning class. The struggle that began in earnest with the Reform Bill of 1832, ended with the victory over the House of Lords in 1911. When at the close of the War the last Reform Bill was passed by consent, its historic mission was fulfilled.

Many reasons contributed to its "startling death"—its betrayal of the Irish, its trickery toward the women, its tampering with civil liberty even before the War, the quarrels of its leaders and its share in the Versailles peace. But the decisive event fell after Mr. Dangerfield's period. When coalition became a habit that outlasted the War, the lines of class demarcation in England were frankly drawn on a new political basis. The owning class was ready at last to forget its historic divisions. Capital, with all its habitual satellite groups, was now solidly ranged against the wage earners. This bisection of society widened as real wages fell in the pre-war years, but it first gaped and yawned, visible to all, at the election of 1918. The differences that separated Liberals from Tories were already in 1914 obsolete, and the cleverer of them knew it. The Liberal leaders had been absorbed by "society." The landed class no longer constituted a distinct interest. The Liberal section of the owning class was merely a rival team that played a peculiar game, because it was trying to retain two alien supports—the votes of the Irish and the workers. With equal subtlety and daring the Tories contrived to kick both from under it, and in so doing achieved the unity of the English governing

[1] The Strange Death of Liberal England: 1910-1914, by George Dangerfield. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. 468

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King of the Finks

"I Break Strikes": The Technique of Pearl L. Bergoff, by Edward Levinson. New York: Robert McBride and Company. 314 pages, illustrated. $2.50.

SINCE this study of the strike-breaking racket in general and the nation's Number One strike-breaker in particular happens to touch my own experience at several points, I should like, instead of writing a review, to tie up the information it contains with my own personal knowledge and tell the story of a strike and how it was broken. This story, repeated over and over again, is the story of Pearl L. Bergoff—king of the finks.

The street-car men of New Orleans, in the summer of 1929, went out on strike. The principal issues involved were a reduction of hours, an increase in wages and union recognition—the triangular basis of almost every strike. The first few days of the walk-out were very quiet. Not a trolley left the barns. It was not until the papers carried the information that several trainloads of strike-breakers were coming to New Orleans that the car men showed any bitterness.

I was working on a newspaper then and my paper sent me to cover the arrival of the finks. When they arrived, about nine o'clock in the morning, a fair-sized crowd of strikers and sympathizers had collected along the railroad tracks behind the Canal Street barns. Around the police courts and on the waterfront I had seen my share of plenty tough eggs but that load of finks was the toughest aggregation of men I had run into. They were members of Pearl Bergoff's "army." They had been recruited (except those "one-time" finks desperate for a job) from all the joints and dives and flop-houses in New York City. Many of them had prison records—all the way from murder and kidnaping to mere assault and battery. They had names like Stinkfoot McVey, Punk Brady, Mouseface Libby, Blackie Ryan, Chi Pullman. Nice names and nice boys.

A detachment of cops had been sent to escort them to the barns, where they would remain until the strike was over. The cops looked scared and the finks looked scared, but the strikers did not. The usual chorus of "Scab!" went up, there was the usual eloquent profanity, somebody heaved a brick. One of the finks went kicking and then the battle was on—brickbats flying, lead pipes cracking skulls, grunts, curses, men fighting in the dust. The cops started shooting. At first they shot into the air, but then a man went down—a relative, I believe, of one of the strikers; an old man with white mustaches, blood sopping his shirt. He died a few days later.

The next day the finks tried to take out the cars. Hell popped loose. The cars were burned, rails torn up, several men were shot—not finks. The strikers held out for several weeks but finally, as Stinkfoot and Mouseface and Punk and Blackie got the cars running (pocketing all the fares and jumping the tracks at every other block), the strikers became demoralized. A few more weeks and they gave in—getting, as usual, the thin and very dirty end of the stick. And Pearl L. Bergoff, sitting in his office in New York City, chalked up another victory and pocketed another juicy fee.

It is a lovely business and Mr. Levinson makes clear just how lovely it really is. His book supplements Mr. Sidney Howard's excellent "The Labor Spy" and it ought to be read by every person in America who wants to know how industry settles its quarrels with its workers. Mr. Levinson is correct. He says that when I interviewed Bergoff for The New Republic (December 12, 1934) he "inspired" in me "physical fear." What I said was, "He is short and chunky and wasn't a bull for nothing . . . and if you saw him coming toward you with one of the baseball bats he supplies his guards . . . you would not be called a coward if you started running the other way." That was intended to be description. What he inspired in me, Mr. Levinson, was nausea—not fear.

HAMILTON BASSO.

Hemingway Mixed with Hearst

Butterfield 8, by John O'Hara. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

JOHN O'HARA'S new book has two not inconsiderable virtues. In the first place, it depicts a brief period and a narrow sector of American life more accurately than any other novel. It is futile and more than mildly scabrous, but so too were the daily lives of the speakeasy people, the girls on the loose, the husbands about town; any honest book about them would have to be shocking. In the second place, it is easy to start, it is hard to lay down before reaching the end, and this is more than can be said for a great many books that were written and discussed more solemnly. It often seems to me that critics, in their concern with social purpose and artistic probity, are likely to forget that an essential aim of any novel is to get itself read.

They could find plenty of social purpose in "Butterfield 8" if they looked hard for it. At the very least they could find a deeply felt, almost inarticulate indignation against the business and personal standards of people in the Social Register. The title, by the way, is the name of the telephone exchange that serves upper Park Avenue, and is thus a Manhattan equivalent of "Vanity Fair." More debatable than the author's purpose is the question of his artistic probity. The critics have been troubled to explain just how and where his book falls short of an ideal that he might have set for himself.

Many of them have objected to the general depravity and dullness of the characters. It is indeed true that the people John O'Hara describes are as limited in sensibility as so many shellfish. Born into prosperous families, educated at good universities, elected to the right clubs, their only personal achievement has been to drink and dawdle themselves into a state of practical anesthesia, a state in which their response to any human stimulus—love, friendship, death, no matter what—is less than human and even less than that of the lower vertebrate animals. They are confined to four interests in life: getting money, getting drunk, going to bed and going to the bathroom. Some of them have the glamor of youth and wild high spirits—like the heroine, Gloria Wandrous, whose career resembles the life and death of Starr Faithful. But the middle-aged characters—like Gloria's lover, Weston Liggett—are presented without redeeming qualities; they have boorish manners and the morals of a pink-nosed Chester boar. Apparently the critics are justified in their objection.

On the other hand, it is easy to remember novels, some of them great novels, in which the principal characters are equally depraved. I am aware of no law that obliges novelists to deal only with strong or affectionate or otherwise admirable people. John O'Hara's real mistake is that he has not dealt with such people at all. His real mistake is that he has given us too close a view of his pub-crawlers, without ever stepping back from them, without ever intro-

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on their lives. He writes as if from the inside of a speakeasy, without opening windows to clear away the smoke.

This is a criticism that involves merely his judgment. As for his integrity as a novelist, there is only one scene that reflects on it: the scene of Gloria's death. Here we ought to be reaching the climax of the story, for Gloria is an appealing character and a real one. All her acts ring true, even if the author seems to be giving a false explanation of them when he tells how she was twice corrupted during her childhood by middle-aged men; there were plenty of girls who acted like Gloria without this excuse. At any rate she does symbolize her age, in spite of what the novelist says about the folly of looking for symbols. She has the right to die tragically, as the result of some conflict or some deliberate choice. But Mr. O'Hara denies her that right and makes her die by accident, fall off a steamer because she chose to walk in the darkness on the top deck, and because the "City of Essex" had a low guardrail. It is this slovenly handled death scene that changes the story from drama to melodrama, from Hemingway at his best to Hemingway mixed with Hearst. MALCOLM COWLEY.

The Weight of the Crown

The Political Influence of Queen Victoria, by Frank Hardie. New York: The Oxford University Press. 258 pages. $3.50.

THIS ABLE and scholarly work deserves a wide audience among all students of the British Constitution. The place of the Crown in British politics is one of the most delicate and least known of its problems. Most writers have been content to repeat the brilliant but facile generalizations of Bagehot, now nearly seventy years old. But the publication (on an ample scale) of Queen Victoria's letters, the biographies and correspondence of Gladstone, Disraeli, Harcourt and other Victorian statesmen, have in the last generation thrown a flood of new light upon the subject. The great value of Hardie's book is that it summarizes the burden of this evidence with clarity and distinction. It makes it clear that the Crown was, throughout the Victorian age, an active and omnipresent participant in the shaping of policy. It exposes decisively the fiction that it was no more than a dignified emollient, destined always to yield before the pressure of its advisers. Queen Victoria was a lady of strong, even of passionate, opinions. Mr. Hardie has made an invaluable study of the methods by which she sought to have her way.

What is the upshot of it all? The Crown in the Victorian period exercised the right to be consulted on every matter of serious importance. It exercised considerable influence in the choice of Ministers and (often wisely) in the direction of foreign affairs. In a broad sense, it was throughout anti-democratic; and it exercised an almost daily pressure in this sense. It did not hesitate to intrigue directly against Mr. Gladstone and in favor of his rivals. It took advice from outside the sphere of its constitutional advisers. It regarded the existence of the House of Lords as a bulwark of its own position. It was consistently imperialist and militarist in temper. It showed neither interest in, nor sympathy for, the issues agitated by Cobden and Bright, the trade-union leaders, or Parnell. Its whole attitude was one that went to the support of the conservative interests in the sense that it sought to inhibit all movement in the direction of social or political equality. It is the most useful instruments of the Conservative Party possessed in her time.

How far have these things changed? The effective answer is that we do not know. Until we have at our disposal a similar correspondence from her successors no complete judgment upon their habits is possible. We know from things like the diaries of the late Lord Esher that it would be fatally easy to underestimate the influence of the Crown. We know, also, that in the constitutional crisis of 1909-11, the Ulster crisis of 1913-14, the financial crisis of 1931, the Crown on each occasion played a considerable, if mysterious, part. We have reason to suppose that the "Palace" is an important factor in the shaping of opinion, that its ramifications and connections reach far wider than it is usual to suppose. It is significant that a revival of active influence on the part of the Crown has been seriously advocated by leading Conservative politicians. They claim (with the support of the late Lord Oxford's authority) that the king has the power of dissolution in his hands. They suggest that, in an emergency, he is entitled to veto legislation that might endanger national unity. They argue that he may refuse to create peers and enable a government to override opposition in the House of Lords. It is suggested that he may ignore party divisions in choosing a Prime Minister so long as his nominee is able to obtain a majority in the House of Commons.

Who are his secret advisers? We do not know. Are there people in his entourage who play the part played by the late Lord Esher? Again, we do not know. What are his relations with the heads of the civil service, the army and navy and air force? Again, our ignorance is complete. Does he seek to influence foreign policy? We have only hazy rumors upon which only half a dozen people alive can comment with any authority. Yet the answers to these questions are vital, since upon them may depend the whole fate of the next Labor government. It is the great merit of Hardie that he supplies a background from which the issues involved receive a new and clear emphasis. His book is written with impartiality and vigor. It will be an indispensable work for many years. HAROLD J. LASKI.

The Monstrous Tree

King Coffin, by Conrad Aiken. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

EVEN WITH Mr. Aiken's name on it, there is danger that this novel may be ticketed as a thriller or, worse luck, a stunt book. On the contrary, it is the crisis-chart of a paranoid psychosis, complete with narcissism, megalomania, sexual symbols and a psychopathic inheritance, all conceived in strictly human terms and carried out on two levels with a superb, almost infallible art. Jasper Ammen, an exceptional and personable young man, set out to express his hatred for mankind by executing a human cipher and in the end killed himself. ("King Coffin" is the title of the novel Ammen was pretending to write.)

The reader's pleasure derives almost equally from Mr. Aiken's high competence as a stylist and the near-perfection with which he has solved the acute problems of form: the intricacy of duplicate clues and symbols, at once psychiatric and esthetic, each independent of the other; and the difficulty of allowing the story to take place in Ammen's mind with no outside check but a few lines from a student's diary, together with the related task of disengaging

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Except for an unintended comic effect in one place and the perhaps too clouded passage in which the circle of victor-victim identification closes, Mr. Aiken has everywhere brilliantly succeeded in externalizing that logic in action. The book is too delicately balanced to permit shouldering any great weight of emotion; but it reproduces with a beautiful fidelity the color of Ammen's ego, now touched with a keen Edward Hopper light, now darkened and corrupted by the monstrous tree of his obsession.

VINCENT MCHUGH.

Campus Activity

Revolt on the Campus, by James Wechsler. New York: Covici, Friede. 476 pages. $3.

IN THE 1920's, when all the rah-rah boys were supposed to be waving pennants in raccoon coats, educators used to deplore their exclusive preoccupation with football, liquor and sex, and beg them to take a serious interest in the problems of society. Today, after six years of depression, students are beginning to think and express their opinions upon those problems, and loud indignant voices rise, telling them not to reason why, but to believe what they are told on respectable authority. Taking a serious interest turns out to have meant campaigning for the Republican or Democratic parties, not quarreling with the status quo and supporting strikers by sympathetic picketing. But the economic pinch has made it steadily more impossible for students to feel that they should root for dear old Bethlehem Steel. They no longer regard their college as either a country club or a cloister, and they revolt increasingly against efforts to direct their thinking for them.

James Wechsler, who was editor of The Columbia Spectator in 1934, surveys these developments in "Revolt on the Campus," with a skill and forcefulness that make it a brilliant and often impassioned piece of reporting. The main outlines are familiar to us all: protest against war, compulsory military drill and gag-censorship; against racial discrimination and industrial oppression. No less familiar are the rather panicky efforts of administrators to avert the dread suspicion of radicalism, the investigations by state legislatures, the hoodlum violence of vigilantes and the Red scares in the yellow press. The pattern of opposition to student opinion could be predicted by any reader of Veblen's "Theory of the Leisure Class" or Sinclair's "The Goose Step."

Although the bulk of Mr. Wechsler's material is impressive, he conveys, by jumping back and forth a good deal chronologically, more of an impression of consistent development than his facts quite justify. But undoubtedly the claim to think for themselves will be made insistently by still larger groups of students in the coming years. And although any widespread and sinister academic conspiracy against them is an absurdity, it is true that too many college administrators have failed to realize, with Dean Gauss of Princeton, that "the spirit both of liberal education and of democracy" is violated by appeals to force, which thereby stand "condemned as undemocratic, illiberal, subversive and un-American."

In spite of a few doctrinaire distortions, Mr. Wechsler's book is a brave, generous-hearted and intelligent job. It should warn all believers in democracy of the dangers of fascism in our colleges. And the cross-section it gives of

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Wall Street Brain Guy

Dwight Morrow, by Harold Nicolson. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 425 pages. $3.75.

THIS IS a pleasant, workmanlike book that tells almost none of the things the reader would like to know. Mr. Nicolson says that he has chosen Mr. Morrow to write about because he was "a completely civilized man." Since Mr. Morrow's social and political ideas never went beyond the orthodox liberalism of the nineteenth century, and since he was largely uninterested in the arts, this description seems far-fetched. As Mr. Nicolson himself says, what distinguished Mr. Morrow among his associates was, first, his remarkable capacity for desk-work, and second, his charm. The sight of his rumpled, absent-minded, childlike figure produced in beholders the same emotion of spontaneous delight that you see on the faces of people watching a puppy in a pet-store window. If he was not a historically significant figure, he did succeed in evoking an extraordinary amount of affection.

Nevertheless, in Mr. Morrow's career are involved two immensely interesting questions, both of which Mr. Nicolson boggles. The first concerns the incongruity between present-day America, with its dictatorship of wealth, and the America of the national mythology, in which free men, each secure in his own property, deal in terms of equality with God, the state and one another. Mr. Nicolson gives only the briefest hints of the conflict that this incongruity produced in Mr. Morrow. As he advanced grimly on his quest of power, he became subject to excruciating headaches. He wrote long letters to his old professors and schoolmates justifying the possession of wealth—letters that are naïve to the point of being foolish. Once, in the presence of humbler Englewood neighbors, he let slip that he owned two automobiles, and immediately felt guilty.

The crisis of his life came with an invitation to join J. P. Morgan and Company. For a month he lay awake in bed wrestling with his soul. He had a nervous breakdown, and Mrs. Morrow carried him off to Bermuda. In the Princess Hotel, he saw a cartoon showing the elder J. P. Morgan as a vulture feeding upon the New Haven stockholders. "He was incensed by the injustice of this cartoon, and the flame of knight-errantry which always gleamed as a little lamp among the arches of his intelligence blazed up in a fuse of indignation. . . . Dwight Morrow always had a protective passion for the misunderstood." So Mr. Nicolson writes in a big flame of bathos. Having salved his puritan conscience by this easy means, Mr. Morrow drafted his letter of acceptance.

The other problem posed by Mr. Morrow's career is that of international finance. When our present political concepts were formed, the jurisdiction of a state and the activities of its citizens were usually co-terminous. But with international finance, it has become possible for the activities of a nation's citizens to be contrary to national policy and outside governmental control. To many people, there was something cockeyed about the fact that, during the World War, J. P. Morgan and Company could actively aid the Allies while President Wilson was trying to keep the country neutral. It is likely that Mr. Morrow's correspondence—to which Mr. Nicolson had access—could throw light on why Mr. Wilson's neutrality policy failed. But Mr. Nicolson not only neglects to discuss the part of th[illegible] Morgan firm in America's entrance into the War; he

Books in Brief

Great Tudors, edited by Katherine Garvin. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 688 pages. $3.75.

IN FORTY essays, ranging from Colet and Skelton to Bacon and Jonson, "Great Tudors" is a panorama of the five reigns of a great dynasty. It has little superficial unity of tone, but the authors have two important points in common: They believe that scholarship may be lucid and interesting as well as fully documented, and they believe that biography may clarify history by revealing an age as "made up of a multitude of separate characters" rather than as "a fixed and unified circle."

Largely they achieve their aim, although the work has the spottiness almost unavoidable in an anthology. A. F. Pollard's essay on Henry VIII seems mainly animated by irritation against popularizations; and a few—like C. H. Williams on Henry VII and Miss Marjorie Bowen on Mary of Scotland—lay about them so slashingly in combatting vulgar errors as to fall into counter-exaggerations. W. H. Auden's technical and pedestrian essay is restricted to Skelton's versification, and Alfred Noyes's criticism of Marlowe represents mostly sophomoric iconoclasm. But in the same volume we find Hilaire Belloc's skillful discussion of Burleigh's statecraft, Paul Chadburn's luminous essay on Wyatt, M. Theodora Stead's understanding account of Matthew Parker, and a collaboration on Shakespeare by Alfred W. Pollard and J. Dover Wilson combining depth of realization with graceful ease. These, and two dozen others, many almost as good, project a brilliant image of a brilliant age. E. J.

Count Rumford of Massachusetts, by James Alden Thompson. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 292 pages. $3.

The adventures of Count Rumford, born plain Benjamin Thompson in Massachusetts, offer the materials for a certain kind of picaresque biography. A dandy in scarlet marrying for money in youth, a spy for General Gage coolly protesting to the Revolutionists that he had done nothing "to the disadvantage" of his country, an intellectual player with fire discovering the true nature of heat and inventing the "Rumford stove," a rather chilly libertine, a philanthropist without a spark of generosity—the glacial character of this egocentrically ambitious man is everywhere strangely at variance with the excitements in his career. In more skillful hands than those of Mr. James Alden Thompson there could have been a kind of hard, glittering comedy in this life, crowned by its investiture with the offices of Chamberlain and Privy Counsellor of State to the reigning Duke of Bavaria and Count of the Holy Roman Empire. E. J.

A Browning Handbook, by William Clyde De Vane. New York: F. S. Crofts and Company. 533 pages. $2.50.

In "A Browning Handbook" Professor De Vane traces each poem in chronological order through its successive publications, gives an account of its genesis, its interpretation, and its place in the history of Browning's reputation, with excerpts from contemporary and later criticism. We are reminded that for Browning poetry was adventure, and his literary career was a really exciting and dramatic one. The auspicious beginning with "Paracelsus" was almost extinguished by "Sordello" and the failures in drama, which led Macready to write in his diary: "I fear—I fear the young man's head is gone." Th

In addition to gathering up the results of Browning scholarship to date, Mr. De Vane has made contributions of his own, notably in regard to the source of the descriptive passage in "Childe Roland" in Lairesse's "The Art of Painting in all its Branches," which was a favorite of Browning in his childhood, and in the connection between Browning's "Fifine at the Fair" and Rossetti's "Jenny." R. M. L.

Noise, a Comprehensive Survey from Every Point of View, by N. W. McLachlan. New York: The Oxford University Press. 148 pages, illustrated. $2.

Did you know that the sound-power generated by a ship's siren is considerable greater than that which could be generated if the entire population of New York City started talking simultaneously? Or that the stomach muscles are seriously overworked through the constant din of elevated trains? Or that typists working in noisy offices expend about 38 percent more energy than would be required in quiet surroundings? Such are a few of the facts given in this excellent short account of the noises that ruin our nerves by day and our sleep by night. This is just the book for those who want to know some of their reasons for hating city life so much. H. W.

Golden Apples, by Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

All of Mrs. Rawlings' talents may be checked in her first novel, "South Moon Under," one of those stories that slip through the years with stylistic ease and give a capable and not too moving picture of what happens to a certain kind of people in a certain place. The author's descriptions of the flora and fauna of this wild Florida forest

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land have the almost condescending deftness of one who is in the know about such details. The people are disappointing. The two orphan "squatters" who introduce the book, and whose story is alive with humor, poverty and love of the land and of each other, are dropped in the middle of the book in favor of the landowner, a young English aristocrat in disgrace. The spiritual struggles of this character, at best pathetic, make incidental the suffering of the other two and bring a sudden unbalance and absurdity into the pattern of the book. E. C.

Some We Loved, by Edward Harris Heth. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

This is the story of a love, a portrait and a sacrifice. The love is that of young Paul Bingham, teacher of English in a Great Lake City, for Laurie Matthias, the daughter of a music composer. The portrait is that of Laurie's mother, whose affair with the portraitist wrecks the happiness of her husband, of Paul and of Laurie, who has to make a choice between living for herself or living for her abandoned father (the sacrifice). There are naturalness and rhythm and youth in this novel which, as it follows up the numerous characters (particularly that of Tom Dorman), gathers breadth and reality. Dorman is a linguist, art critic, city planner and anthropologist, former smarty pants of his college class. Unable to stomach his $10-a-week job, he drinks himself first to empty pockets, then to theft. That he is made the chance link between Paul and Laurie and the painter is a weakness of structure in a book whose plot is otherwise strong, whose visualization and dialogue give it kinship with the theatre. F. V.

Contributors

JOHN T. FLYNN's regular department, "Other People's Money," for which his article on page 92 of this issue is a substitute, will appear next week as usual.

RUTH LECHLITNER lives in Cold Spring, New York. Her poems and book reviews have appeared in The New Republic, The Nation, The Herald Tribune Books and other magazines.

IRVING BRANT is editor of the editorial page of the St. Louis Star-Times. He is the author of "Dollars and Sense," the war-debt chapter of which was originally published in The New Republic, and he is now completing a new book dealing with the position of the Constitution and the Supreme Court in American political and economic life.

H. N. BRAILSFORD, London correspondent for The New Republic, recently arrived in New York to begin a lecture tour of America. His latest book, "Voltaire," has just been published.

HAMILTON BASSO is spending the winter at his home in the North Carolina mountains, where he is working on a new novel.

HAROLD J. LASKI is a member of the faculty of the London School of Economics and the author of several books on economics and political science, the most recent of which was "The State in Theory and Practice," published last spring.

VINCENT MCHUGH, author of a novel, "Sing Before Breakfast," is now editing "The Time of My Life," by Caleb Catlum, for publication next spring.

EDGAR JOHNSON is a lecturer at the New School for Social Research, giving courses on Satire and Esthetics.

The initials signed to the brief reviews are those of Edgar Johnson, Robert Morss Lovett, Harold Ward, Eleanor Clark and Frances Valensi.

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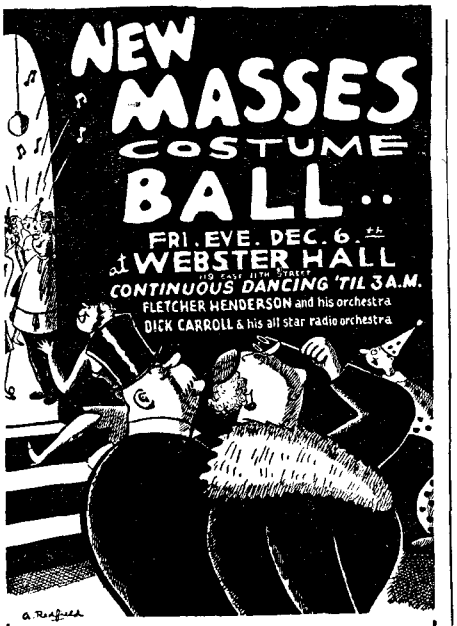

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